

IMPERATIVES OF MISSION TODAY

Moffett
OMSC, New Haven: 1/4/88

I. Evangelism: First Among Equals

The meaning of evangelism
Church planting
Church growth
Case study: Korea

II. Social Action: "Faith Without Works Is Dead"

W
Works of compassion
Action for freedom and justice
Case study

III. Unity: "That They All May Be One"

Unity and mission? a contradiction?
The Biblical imperative
The evangelistic and missionary imperatives
Case study: China, Japan and Korea

Recommended reading:

G. H. Anderson, "A Moratorium on Missionaries".
Mission Trends No. 1, pp. 133 ff.

W. Dayton Roberts, Revolution in Evangelism
Moody Press, Chicago, 1967

Gustavo Gutierrez, "The Hope of Liberation"
Mission Trends No. 3. pp. 64 ff.

Richard J. Neuhaus, "Liberation Theology and the Captivity of Jesus"
Mission Trends No. 3. pp. 41 ff.

Paul A. Crow, Jr., Christian Unity: Matrix for Mission
Friendship Press, Chicago, 1982

Lesslie Newbigin, "The Gospel Among the Religions"
Mission Trends No. 5. pp. 3 ff.

THE CHALLENGES OF MISSION TOMORROW
Samuel H. Moffett. Ventnor. Jan. 1986

OUTLINE

- I. The Theological Challenge: Christology. Is it possible to combine appreciation of other religions with the missionary conviction that salvation is in Jesus Christ alone.
 - A. Comparative: Christ as one way among many.
 - B. Normative: Christ as the better, or presumably final way.
 - C. Unique: Christ as the only way.

- II. The Structural Challenge: Church and Parachurch. Is the church the only channel for missionary outreach?
 - A. A history of tensions.
 - B. What is the Church?
 - C. Pathways to cooperation.

- III. The Ecumenical Challenge: Mission and Unity. Does mission lead to schism the churches, and will church union lead to missionary decline?
 - A. Mission and church division.
 - B. Unity and loss of urgency in mission.
 - C. The need for unity in mission, and for mission in unity.

- IV. The Evangelistic Challenge. Where is the frontier?

RECOMMENDED READING

- Lesslie Newbigin, The Open Secret (Eerdmans, 1978)
Hendrik Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World
(International Missionary Council, 1947)
John Hick, The Many Faces of God (, 1984)
Lausanne Occasional Papers, #24: Handbook on Church/Parachurch
Relationships (LCCWE, 1983)
Paul Crow, Christian Unity: Matrix for Mission (Friendship Press,
1982)
E.R. Dayton & S. Wilson, The Future of World Evangelism: Unreached
Peoples '84 (MARC, 1984)
D.B. Barrett, World Christian Encyclopedia (read all 1010 pages
slowly and carefully!)

Major Issues in World Ministries Today
Prof. Samuel H. Moffett (Princeton)
January Seminar Series, Ventnor. Jan. 14, 1985

Purposely by-passing a good many well-discussed major issues such as peace and justice, this session will focus on some other major issues in Christian world ministry and mission. The outline (subject to change without notice) will probably be as follows:

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A look at some classic alternatives in missionary goals: evangelization, liberation, fulfillment, assistance, etc.
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Moratorium or crusade; funds or life. Is there a balance?
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Church and parachurch; competition and cooperation. The questions of unity and diversity, authority and freedom.

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Lesslie Newbigin, The Open Secret (Eerdmans)
D. Senior and C. Stuhlmuehler, The Biblical Foundations for Mission (Orbis)
Peter Wagner, Church Growth and the Whole Gospel (Harper)
- On II. G. Anderson and T. Stransky, Mission Trends No. 1
R. Pierce Beaver, The Missionary Between the Times (Doubleday)
- On III. Lausanne Occasional Papers #24: Cooperating in World Evangelization
(Lausanne Comm. for World Evangelization)

SOME LESSONS FROM HISTORY FOR MISSIONS
Samuel H. Moffett (Ventnor, Jan. 3, 1983)

Lesson I. ROME: The Fall of a Christian Empire is Not the End of Christian Mission.

Augustine, Jerome, Cyprian
Colud son of Fedilgich, Willibrord, Willibald, Ansgar
But it is dangerous for a Church to become too much a
part of its imperial environment.

Lesson II. PERSIA: The Fall of a Pagan Empire is No Help to Christian Missions.

It is as dangerous for a Church to be against its
cultural environment as to be too much part of it.
Seleucia-Ctesiphon and the Christian ghetto.
Islam and the Christian church--the melet.
Discriminatory punishments
Social humiliations
Financial pressures
Prohibition of evangelism
The church turns in on itself, and withers away.

Lesson III. CHINA: A Leftist Regime Ends Christian Missions but Fails to Destroy the Church.

When liberation is not liberation.

Lesson IV. KOREA: A Rightist Regime is Baffled by an Explosion: Church Growth.

What makes a Church grow?
Spirit and Scripture
Lay Evangelism
Social and Historical Situation
Relevance to National goals
Missionary methods (the Nevius method an example)
What makes a growing church turn divisive.
Not all growth is Christian growth.

Some good reading:

W.G. Young, Patriarch, Shah and Caliph.
A.S. Tritton, The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects.
G.T. Brown, Christianity in the Peoples Democratic Republic.
Roy Shearer, Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea.
Eric Hanson, Catholic Politics in China and Korea.

YESTERDAY'S LESSONS FOR TOMORROW'S MISSION

Mr. Moffett
Ventnor, Jan. 4, 1982

OR
is History Prologue

I. The Lessons of Failure: China.

A. Four Missions to China (635 - 1949 AD).

1. Nestorian I (635-906). Alopen, and T'ang dynasty Christianity.
2. Nestorian II, with a touch of Rome (1200-1368). Mongol dynasty Christians.
3. The Jesuits (1552-1773). Ricci, Schall and the Rites Controversy.
4. Protestant and Catholic Missions (1807-1949).
The Taip'ing Rebellion (Hung Hsiu-ch'uan), 1850-60.
The communist revolution (1949-76), to the death of Mao.

B. Some reasons for failure.

1. Dependence on the patronage of the central government.
2. Identification with minority groups in the empire.
3. Religious syncretism.
4. Dependence on foreign missionaries.
5. Dependence on control from abroad (the Vatican, foreign institutions).
6. Insufficient contextualization.

C. Three lessons in "balance" as a preliminary conclusion.

1. Christian mission fails when it allies itself too closely with political power; or unrealistically opposes it.
2. Christian mission fails when it adapts too much to non-Christian cultures and religions; or when it contextualizes too little into the national heritage.
3. Christian mission fails when it neglects to validate its spiritual message with social compassion and integrity (Outerbridge); or when it concentrates on a social program and message to the neglect of its transcendent, spiritual base.

II. The Lessons of Success: Korea.

A. The Growth of the Church (1884-1982)

1. The mission period (1884-1910).
2. The mission/church period (Japanese occupation, 1910-45)
3. The church period (1945-1982)

B. Some reasons for growth.

1. Bible-centered Christian education.
2. The Nevius Method: self-government, self-support, self-propagation.
3. The socio-political situation and identification with national hopes.

C. An attempt to correlate the three preliminary lessons of "China failure" to "Korea success".

III. The final lesson: A reminder that what passes for success is often failure, and vice versa. China is not "failure"; nor Korea "success".

"History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Mission!"
Samuel H. Moffett, Henry Winters Luce Professor
of Ecumenics and Mission
Ronald C. White, Jr., lecturer in church
history and director, continuing education

Worship at 9 a.m. Tuesday led by Sam Moffett
Worship at 9 a.m. Thursday led by Ron White

DM's copy
October 30-November 2, 1984
Morning-only course beginning
Tuesday at 9:30 a.m. and ending
Friday at 11:15 a.m. Each session
consists of a 50-minute lecture
followed by a 20-minute coffee break
then approximately 1 hour for
discussion and reflection.

This course looks to the past for a better understanding of the present and for possible guidelines for the future in missions. Beginning with the recent past in two very different mission contexts (China and Korea), it will conclude with a broad analysis of the 19th century missionary movement and the challenge of 20th century missions.

Outline

Destiny - Hope - Anchor of the Soul.

- I. Lessons from a Revolution: China. (Moffett)
 - a. What I learned from the communists. *"Challenge of Communists"*
 - b. The trauma of unfulfilled promises and the "cultural revolution"
 - c. The challenge of new possibilities.
- II. What Makes the Korean Church Grow? (Moffett)
 - a. Theological factors.
 - b. Missionary methods.
 - c. The church comes of age.
 - d. Some problems of rapid growth.
- III. 19th Century Foundations of the Missionary Movement. (White)
 - a. Revivalism
 - b. The Evangelical United Front.
 - c. Christianity and the Social Crisis.
- IV. The Challenge of the Twentieth Century. (White)
 - a. The Fundamentalist-Modernist Crisis.
 - b. The Recovery of Wholeness.
 - c. A Genuine Missionary Approach to Western Culture.

Suggested reading:

- * Lesslie Newbigin, The Other Side of 1984, Questions to the Churches, New York: Friendship Press, No. 18 in the Risk book series.
- * G. H. Anderson and T. F. Stransky, eds., Mission Trends No. 1: "Crucial Issues in Mission Today", Paulist Press, NY and Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1974
- ** Samuel H. Moffett, The Christians of Korea
- ** G. Thompson Brown, Christianity in the Peoples Republic of China
- ** Ronald White & C. Howard Hopkins, The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America
- ** Donald Dayton, Discovering an Evangelical Heritage

Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform

Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis

* Available for sale at OMSC

** Available for reading at OMSC's Library

Resource Persons:

Samuel Hugh Moffett was born in Korea, studied at Wheaton College, Princeton Theological Seminary, and received his PhD from Yale. He served as a missionary in China during the last two years of the nationalist government and the first two years of the revolution, and then spent 26 years in Korea. He is the Henry Luce Professor of Ecumenics and Mission at Princeton Theological Seminary.

Ronald C. White, Jr., is Director of Continuing Education and Visiting Lecturer in American Church History at Princeton Theological Seminary. He studied at UCLA and Princeton Seminary and his PhD is from Princeton University. He was associate professor and chairman of the Department of Religion and Philosophy at Whitworth College, and was chairperson of the Visitors Program of the 21st General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches at Ottawa, Canada.

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Ventures

Issues - not Justice + Peace. These are in everyone's mind.
not Frontier Missions

- ① Church + Parachurch - Does the mission belong to the Church?
- ② Monetarism in missionaries - Is the Day of the Missionary Over? ^{Yes} or the Day of the Church Come?
- ③ Church Growth - Is small beautiful?
- ④ What is Missions Theology :
- ⑤ Christianity Christianity + Culture.

Syncretism and Religious Dialogue

- I. Introduction: use of "syncretism"
 - A. Visser't Hooft: No Other Name
 1. "Syncretism": "the view which holds that there is no unique revelation in history, that there are many different ways to reach the divine reality" (p. 11)
 2. theology syncretistic: if, in using thought forms of milieu "it introduces into its structure which change the meaning of biblical truth in its substance." (p. 123)
 - B. M.M. Thomas: "Christ-Centered Syncretism"
 1. History of Religions: syncretism is "adaptation"
 2. "either the word should be abolished from any discussion of the theology of interfaith dialogue or should be given a neutral phenomenological connotation" (p. 35)
- II. Reasons for Dialogue in general¹ - Goals
 - A. Secular: unite to combat secularism
 - B. Interior: search to find mystical God beyond Being
 - C. Humanistic: unite for betterment of mankind
 - D. Discursive: discussion & interchange of rel. ideas
 - E. Witness and/or Conversion (spec. Christian emphasis)
- III. Basic contemporary approaches to dialogue.
 - A. Triumphal: nothing good in non-Christian thinking
 - B. Evangelistic: proclaim Person of Christ
 - C. Sacramental: inheritor of Fulfilment legacy (R.C.)
 - D. "Dialogical": inheritor of Co-operation legacy
- IV. Sacramental: primarily Roman Catholic approach
 - A. Presuppositions
 1. Sacramental concept
 - a. Augustine: Sacrament as "Outward sign of inward grace"
 - b. "By her relationship with Christ, the Church is a kind of sacrament of intimate union w/God, and of the unity of all mankind" (Lumen Gentium, paragraph 1)
 2. Emphasis on "Mystical Christ" (vice "historical" Christ) as "Christological link" between God and mankind.

¹ Modified from E. Sharpe from "Goals of Interreligious Dialogue" in Truth and Dialogue in World Religions: Conflicting Truth Claims, John Hick, ed.; Westminster Press, Phila, 1974.

3. "The Catholic Church rejects nothing which is true and holy in (non-Christian) religions" (Nostra Aetate, paragraph 2)
- B. Tendencies towards syncretism
1. To see "Christ" or "Christianity" as fulfilment of particular religions.
 - a. Christ fulfils "Law & Prophets" ie., "makes true" (Matt. 5:17)
 - b. Christ "fulfils" humans
 - 1.) Millions remain unfulfilled
 - 2.) Fulfilment: only through choice/election
 - c. But not same as fulfilling "religion"
 2. Panikkar: Unknown Christ of Hinduism
 - a. "There is in Hinduism a living Presence of that Mystery which Christians call Christ. Now Presence does not necessarily imply historical Presence." (Ie., Eucharist) (p. 2)
 - b. "God is at work in all religions: the Christian kerygma does not proclaim a new God, but the mirabilia of God ..." (p. 168)
 - c. Yes to Presence in Hinduism, but how define it?
 3. Rahner: "Anonymous Christians"
 - a. "No matter what a man states in his conceptual, theoretical and religious reflection, anyone who does not say in his heart, 'there is no God' ...but testifies to him by the radical acceptance of his being, is a believer." (p. 214)
 - b. Idea too vague: really means, Why do missions?
 - c. Also term is condescending: would we want to be (say) "Anonymous Buddhists"?
 4. Separation of "Mystical" & "Historical" Christ.
 - a. False dichotomy
 - b. How can we know anything of the Mystical Christ apart from Jesus of Nazareth?

V. "Dialogical": "liberal" conciliar

A. Presuppositions

1. Mutual understanding: little/no talk of conversion
2. Existence of inner religious awareness of "God" (Tradition of Schleiermacher to R. Otto to Mircea Eliade, etc.)
3. "God" as absolutely Transcendent. (cf. R.C. 'mystical Christ')
 - a. W. Cantwell Smith: "faith" distinct from "religious tradition"
 - b. John Hick: new "Copernican Rev"

God as the pivot point, not Christ.

Agony

depersonalized

How does one in heart and action
express his faith?

(See McVey, R. Raimon)

B. Tendencies toward syncretism

1. "Experiential-expressivism" (Lindbeck)
 - a. Tendency to relativize history & material world ^{critique -}
 - b. Kraemer: "There is no 'natural' religion; there is only a universal religious consciousness in man, which produces many similarities." (The Christian Message, p. 112)

But the references, says Kraemer are not the same

2. "Transcendent" "God"
 - a. "God": anything you want It to be
 - b. Kraemer: "In the discussion with other world-views and with the great religions ...there always crops up the problem of divine transcendence and immanence in relation to the world. To Biblical realism this problem is quite irrelevant" (Ibid., p. 66)

How can we know? apart from mission?

3. Anti-conversion bias
 - a. Misunderstanding of "conversion"
 - b. Stress on decision for Christ
4. "Christianity" as Principle(s)
 - a. But: Christ as Person
 - b. And Jesus of Nazareth as:
 - 1.) "truly human"/"truly divine"
 - 2.) Only real Mediator of truth

C. Lindbeck: The Nature of Doctrine

1. "cultural-linguistic" approach to religions
 - a. We should stress neither the cognitive nor the experiential-expressive aspects of religion but rather, "those respects in which religions resemble languages together with their correlative forms of life and are thus similar to cultures" (p. 18)
 - b. "One can ...no more be religious in general than one can speak language in general." (p. 23)
2. General observations
 - a. Provides for both
 - 1.) First & second order truth
 - 2.) Witnessing aspect of Christian faith
 - b. Treats well idea of "Theology as Narrative"
 - c. Upholds uniqueness of all religions
 - d. Allows for uniqueness of Christianity in Uniqueness of Jesus Christ.

Syncretism and Religious Dialogue

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 of its Problems. New York: Abingdon.

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- McBrien, Richard P.
 1981 Catholicism Study Edition. Minneapolis, Minn: Winston Press.
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- *1971 "Syncretism and Missionary Philosophy Today." Review and Expositor, Vol 68, pps 65-80.
- 1976 Salvation Tomorrow. Nashville: Abingdon.
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- Newbigin, J.E. Lesslie
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- 1979 "The Centrality of Jesus for History" In Incarnation and Myth, ed. by Michael Goulder. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
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- Schillebeeckx, E.
 1963 Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God. Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel.
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1983 Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation. Geneva: World Council of Churches.
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1978 Towards a Theology of Contemporary Ecumenism. Madras: The Christian Literature Society.
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1963 Christianity and the Encounter of the World Religions New York: Columbia University Press.
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*1963 No Other Name. London: SCM Press LTD.
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1980 Doxology: The Praise of God in Worship, Doctrine, and Life. New York: Oxford University Press.

Challenges of Mission Tomorrow: I. Christology

My subject was chosen in an unthinking moment, six months ago, long before this moment of truth when I ~~would~~ have to stand up and lecture about it. (Too late) I ^{had} discovered ^{I made an} my error. I ~~had~~ made the subject plural, "challenges", not "a challenge", which ~~and~~ ^{and} meant I ~~was~~ ^{am} committed to some kind of survey. And in surveys, I find myself speaking dogmatically on vast and important issues in so many areas of study that no one can possibly be competent in them all. That's all right if there are no questions. Then you can speak and run. But this comes with a question period, ^{attached} and I am trapped. Why didn't I choose a safe, restricted, ^{narrow} dissertation-type topic like:

"The Challenge of a Semi-Christian Sect from Post-war North Korea to American Civil Religion," ^{it could be} sub-titled "The Moonies Invade the United States!"

Well, that is a ~~mission~~ challenge for missions tomorrow, all right - but only one among many. ^{and} Since I am committed to talking about challenges in a larger framework, let me narrow the field down to

"Four Major Challenges to Mission Tomorrow": ① the ^{Christ} theological, ② the ~~the~~ structural, (the missions) ③ the ^{the church} ecumenical, and ④ the evangelistic. In each I will try to pick out a central, ~~antagonistic~~ ^{key} debatable ~~issue~~ question as ^a central focus to ~~the~~ each challenge. ~~In the first challenge, the key, ^{and} the question is~~

The first challenge comes from the theology of missions, and the question: "Is salvation really in Christ alone?" The second challenge is organizational ~~and~~ structural, ^{and} the question ~~is~~ becomes "Is the organized church the ~~last~~ ^{only} structure for mission?" The third ~~question~~ ^{challenge} is ecumenical, and the question is "Does the drive for organized Christian unity help or hinder ~~the~~ the missionary movement?" And the last challenge - which I may or may not have time for, is the evangelistic challenge. The question is "Where are the unreached?" ~~Who are the unreached and who are the reached.~~

Every one of these questions is of vital importance to the future of missions. Every one of them has stirred up so much debate that churches have split over them ~~over the variety of answers offered.~~ Don't expect me today to give you the final answer on any one of them. But at least let me lay out some of the parameters of the issues involved in each challenge, each question, and urge you to do more ~~some~~ thinking and reading on your own way to some ^{of the} answers. I will even agree to be a sacrificial lamb and confess in which direction I lean when I ask myself these questions - ^{Then} ~~so~~ you can start shooting at a target, not at an abstraction.

was often said at ^{the} Uppsala Assembly of the WCC - if the ^{church} [mission] is to
 be a Christian ^{church} [mission], it begins with Christ. To quote M.M. Thomas
 again, "lest the involvement of the Church with the world in the name
 of wholeness becomes conformity with the world, theology must recall the
 Church over and over again to return to the ~~transforming~~ transcendence
 of the gospel." (Princeton Sem. Bulletin, "The Core of the Gospel + the Whole Gospel", Spring, 1983, pp 11f.)

I. First, the Theological Challenge: Jesus Christ and Salvation

Simply put, ^{the thrust of} ~~the debate about this~~ ^{theological} ~~challenge~~ ^(to missions tomorrow) swirls about Peter's answer ^{long ago} to ^{two} questions: the first when Jesus asked ^{the question} ~~Jesus asked~~ his disciples at Caesarea Philippi. "Who do the multitudes say that I am," and Peter's answer, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." (Luke 9:18, 20); ~~the question what did he~~ ^{He said} And the second was ^{debat} ~~his~~ answer to the Sadducees in Jerusalem, "There is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved."

If proof texts could settle theological debates, that ~~should~~ ^{would settle} ~~and~~ the question right there. "Is salvation really in Christ alone?" ~~The Bible says,~~ "There is salvation in no one else.. there is no other name.." (Acts 4:12). But theology is never that simple - see it - ^{representative of a post-modern} and John Hick ^{is} ~~is~~ Theologians who won't take Acts 4:12 for an answer. His newest book is called God Has Many Names ^{Philo -} (Westminster, 1982), ^(note the mistake on your bible page) and Jesus Christ isn't the only one. Why not Buddha, or Krishna? ^{Hicks} ~~He~~ represents an increasingly popular ~~challenge~~ theological challenge that strikes straight at the heart of ^{our} ~~Christian~~ ^{approach to Asia} [missions] as it has been practiced for 2000 years.

[How will missions tomorrow react to this challenge?]

Roughly speaking ~~many~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Christian~~ Christians divide into three different positions in this debate.

- ① John Hick represents the extreme left: the comparative (or relative) position.
- ② There is a wide band in ~~the~~ ^a middle; the normative. Its representatives, ranging from left to right, ^{and} could include a Raimundo Panikkar, on the left ~~as the more orthodox~~ to the more orthodox Carl Braaten.
- ③ ~~And on the orthodox right, there is also a wide spectrum of~~
- ③ And on the ~~orthodox~~ more traditional right is what we might call the "orthodox" school, the exclusive position in terms of salvation, ~~the~~ ^{with} ~~emphasis~~ emphasis on the unique, in terms of Christology. "No other name". (The classic figure here is Hendrik Kraemer).

(A) John Hick represents the radically liberal view - the comparative, or relative answer. "God has many ~~names~~ ^{names}"; ~~he~~ ^{hick} ~~prefers~~ ^{the name of} Christ, but wouldn't free it on a Buddhist. "God"

"God saves men and women within the Christian way, within the Muslim way... the Jewish way... the Buddhist way..." ("Is There Only One Way to God?" *Theology*, Jan, 1982, pp. 4-6)
"We can say that there is salvation in Christ without having to say that there is no salvation other than in Christ." (*ibid.*, p. 7).

~~That~~
It sounds compassionately tolerant and broadminded, and it is increasingly popular, but it is not ~~so~~ ^{so} new as Hicks would have us believe. He calls it a "Copernican shift" in religious thinking. But it's always been around. Paul ~~faced~~ ~~it~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~first~~ ~~century~~ ~~that~~ first century Christians faced it everywhere, and rejected it as idolatry. One of its most popular forms was the

Cult of Isis, where the Most High God, Isis, takes on different ^{names} ~~forms~~.
 Paul met her as Diana of the Ephesians, but she was also in other
 places, ^{as} Venus, as Juno, as Ceres, etc. All had ^{once} been different gods, until
 the philosophers sought to find behind the different names, one
 basic reality, ^{as Vesivir 't Hoff points out (No Other Name, Naperville, Ill., 1963, p. 17f.) one name really} one "Ground of Being" [though Tillich does not go
 so far as Hick, and belongs in the middle position - the uncreative],
 or as ~~the~~ Hinduism puts it one "undifferentiated continuum" with
 9 million ~~for~~ names, 9 million gods.

It would be misleading to imply that all who take
 this general viewpoint are as radical as John Hick. Other
 names that come to mind with a similar ~~but~~ but perhaps milder
 thrust are Wm. Ernest Hocking, the old-fashioned liberal from Harvard back
 in the 30s, and progressive Catholics, ^{today} like Paul Knitter, ^(with his "Theocentric Christology") and David Tracy.
 Not as radical as Hick.

(B) The Normative School

But I must go on to the second group, the Normative.

If the first group, the relativists can be called the radical left in missionary theology, the second group ~~are~~ should, I suppose be called "middle of the road", but ^{they are not really in the middle.} ~~that is misleading.~~ They ~~actually~~ cover so wide a spectrum ~~of~~ on the theology of missions scale, that to the orthodox they all look ~~quite~~ ^{rather} radical.

This is how a graduate student of mine describes this school:

~~them~~: (Gary Parker. "Is Salvation Through Christ Relative, Normative or Exclusive?" - Princeton mss, 1984.)

"... its edges shade into positions on either side ["relative" and "exclusive"]. Its core is the affirmation that while Jesus Christ is the decisive and normative final way in which we find salvation, our understanding of the words 'Jesus Christ' must be very broad... and must go beyond history into a cosmic dimension" [Further, they] "would assert that belief in Christ need not be explicitly necessary, but could be the seeking after truth.. in other religions or philosophies."

Salvation, they say, "is not necessarily only in Christ..

because God's final purpose is to save all peoples," and not all have known Him.

In general ~~this~~ ^{the} left wing of the normative school weakens the role of Jesus in salvation, dilutes the doctrine of sin, makes the cross, ^{apparently} soteriologically unnecessary, and takes a broad and ~~more or less~~ universalist view of salvation.

Here are some representative names and citations: Paul Tillich, who ~~may~~ says there is salvation apart from Christ but ~~that~~ nevertheless Christ is "the ultimate criterion of every... saving process." (Syst. Theol. II. p. 168 - Chicago 1951); and Karl Rahner, the Catholic theologian who popularized the phrase "anonymous Christians", that is, those who have found God at work in their other religions without the "name" of Christ. ("Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions", in Christianity and the Other Religions, ed. J. Hill, Phila., 1950).

~~And~~ also the Indian Jesuit, Raimundo Panikkar, ^{in his book, The Unknown Christ of Hinduism} (London: Dartmann, 1965): "Christ saves the Hindu normally" but "through the sacraments of Hinduism. [For] Hinduism has also a place in the universal saving providence of God" (p. 54, adapted)

~~But~~ that is ^{the left} ~~only one~~ side of the "normative" school, ^{the first position,} the side that leans toward relativism. Not so extreme are others that Parker includes in this grouping, theologians like Hans Kung, Wolfhard Pannenberg and Carl Braaten. These all affirm very clearly that Jesus alone saves. As Carl Braaten writes, "Nothing is more clear in the NT and the Christian tradition than the uniqueness of Jesus Christ in whose name alone there is salvation."

Why then not include them in the third, the more

orthodox grouping which we call "exclusivist". The point at which ^{the normatives} they begin to differ with the traditional ^{"exclusivists"} ~~view~~ is on the issue of universal salvation. Theologically ^{this central group is} they are attracted to universalism, and ^{they} work hard to find ^{Biblical support} in such NT passages as Colossians 1:19-20 ~~Biblical support~~ for the hope that ultimately none ^{will be} ~~are~~ lost, but all will be saved by the all-encompassing grace of a loving God:

"For in him, ^{Life in Christ} writes Paul in Colossians, "all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell and through him to reconcile to himself all things ... making peace by the blood of his cross."

But if proof texts alone could decide the issue, a third group, the proponents of the unique role of Christ in salvation, the exclusivists have the better of the debate. The whole weight of the Biblical revelation leads to a precise center in the saving work of Christ. And it was Jesus, not Paul, who spoke most specifically, even sharply, about "eternal punishment" and "eternal life." So, as you might guess, I find myself in the third camp - the exclusive; Christ the only way, - the unique way.

© The Unique or Exclusive School.

~~But if people~~

(though it may not be the most popular view in this increasingly pluralistic world,
There is no question that this is the traditional and

historic Christian position on the work of Christ. It is rooted in the

Old Testament. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." It is the

(Acts 4:12)
teaching of the apostles: "There is no other name." It is the teaching

of Jesus himself: "I am the way, the truth and the life; no one comes

to the Father, but by me." (Jn. 14:6). But like the other viewpoints -

it has its own range of positions from broad to narrow, and its proponents

include ~~and~~ ecumenical conciliators, like Visser 't Hofst, Leslie Newbigin

and David Bosch; ^{but at the same time} and at the other end, fundamentalists like Carl McIntyre

and Harold Indell, ^{people} who can't quite believe that the WCC means what it

says in its own 1950 (Toronto) statement of the central fact of its faith: "Other foundation

can no man lay than that is laid, even Jesus Christ." ^{1 Cor. 3:11; cited in} (Workbook for the New Delhi Assembly, p. 65)

Perhaps the main difference between the 2 wings of the "exclusive school, is that the former, the conciliators, more readily admit that there is much that is good + true + beautiful in other religions (though not salvific in) and are much more open to dialogue, whereas the fundamentalists tend to dismiss them all as "of the devil" and only preach against them.

Hendrik Kraemer was ~~the~~^a former missionary to Indonesia, a Dutch
 and Reformed theologian, and the distinguished professor of the History of
 Religions at the University of Leiden. His 1938 book was a point-blank
 reversal of the tide toward ~~the~~ religious relativism which had
 begun to sweep across the field of ~~religious~~ mission theology in the
 1920s and 1930s. Where the relativists already then were generally
 calling for co-existence with other faiths, Kraemer insisted ("harshly insisted,"
 his ~~opponents~~ more tolerant opponents said) that because salvation is in
 Christ alone, Christianity must "radically displace" the other world religions.
 We cannot pick the good and discard the bad in these religions, he
 wrote. They are "all-inclusive systems and theories of life rooted in
 a religious basis", and must be either accepted or rejected as a totality. (pp. 102, 102)

The metaphor of a knit sweater comes to mind. Try to pick out one thread to
 throw away - and the whole thing begins to unravel.

He took on all the popular fallacies of his time: ^① the naive ^{hope} belief that Christianity can permeate society without converting people, ^② the mistaken belief that the non-Christian religions will simply decay and disappear and need not be confronted, ^③ the theory that non-Christian religions are preparatory for the gospel. "The God of all philosophies & religions"

⑦

his emphasis on the unique & absolute nature of Xty,
Kraemer's missionary Christology, is summarized in the "Message" of

Madras:

"God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.. His full revelation [is] in Jesus Christ.. He alone is adequate for the world's need.. We see and readily recognize in [non-Christian religions].. values of deep religious experiences and great moral achievements. Yet we are bold enough to call men out ~~of~~ from them to the feet of Christ.. We see glimpses of God's light in the world of religions.. Yet we believe that all religious insights & experiences have to be ~~tested~~ fully tested before God in Christ; and we see that this is true within as well as outside the Christian Church.."

(The Madras Series, Authority of the Faith. vol. 1, pp. 184-185.)

Kraemer himself somewhat softened his views - not on Christology, but on an increased appreciation of the good, the true and the beautiful outside Christianity - but again those I would classify as essentially exclusionist would range from Donald McGavran at Fuller, to ~~the~~ the more irenic of Anglican, John Stott, and the "Lausanne Covenant", to the ecumenical David Bosch of S Africa.

The turning point in the theology of mission is the resurrection. In the ~~Theology of the NT~~ it is the resurrection that ~~as Paul declared more than once,~~ makes Jesus Christ unique. In the theology of mission, it is ^{Christ's} ~~his~~ uniqueness that gives Christianity an inescapably exclusive character, as even Gandhi recognized. ^{John Smith} And it ~~is~~ is its exclusiveness that gives the mission of Christianity its urgency. It is no accident that it was the risen Lord, not the Christ on the cross, who commissioned his disciples to "go into all the world and preach the gospel."

Of course it makes a difference in ^{Christian} mission what we believe about Christ. James McCord, former pres. of Princeton Theol. Sem. ~~wrote this~~ put it this way ~~to~~ in words to the alumni a few years ago:

"~~In my opinion, the~~ Much has been written about the moratorium [~~the decline~~] on mission, and most of it has implied that those who are responsible are leaders of the "Younger Churches". In my opinion, the chief reason for our inactivity [in mission] has come from within; from our puzzlement about the sole sufficiency of Jesus Christ and from the guilt we have heaped upon ourselves... lacking confidence in the power of the Gospel, we have been intimidated into silence." (Princeton Theol. Sem. Alumni News, vol. XIX, No. 1, p. 1 (Autumn '78))

Conversion -

Mr. Carey could not point to a particular time + place in which he became a Christian.

GHANDI - ON RELIGION 203
Jan 14 6
April Act 4:12

'I hold that all religions are true but imperfect. My quarrel with missionaries is that they think no religion other than Christianity is true - Gandhi: The Message of Gandhi
Bharat: Bharat Vidya Bhavan (1961) p 1 - Himpriani ... p 4. (Young Ind. Sep 2, 7.)

'Don't talk about it (the good). The one doesn't have to participate its perfume. It just goes forth and people are drawn to it. Don't talk about it + live it. And people will come to see the source of the perfume.' E. St. John: Gandhi: An Interpretation (N.Y. Abingdon 1948), p 62.

James [C. d.] ... "to help Christianize Indian Christianity" (ibid, p 71)

- Gandhi's 3 principles:
- 1) Truth is superior to everything that conflicts with it.
 - 2) Anything that conflicts with the Ahimsa (non violence) principle is to be rejected.
 - 3) Everything which conflicts with rational truth ^{when it} ~~is~~ ceases to be truth is to be rejected -

Ignatius Jesudasan, A Gandhi: Theorist of Liberation (Orbis, 1984) p. 112.

"A spirit ... call it Christianity ... that does not matter to me" (R.S. Jensen, ... London: Allen - Unwin, 1951) p. 27

Personal Comments and Critique by Nancy Draves

Hick quotes Lesslie Newbigen's article in the Scottish Journal of Theology, vol. 30, No.3, 1977, page 255 and I scanned at your request The Household of God by Newbigen. What Newbigen advances is a world-wide Christian oikumene; what Hick advances is a world-wide oikumene based on belief in The Eternal One and not in Christ. I appreciated much of what Hick had to say concerning evil in his book, Evil and the God of Love, although I disagreed with his ideas of universalism. I grieved over what was said in The Myth of God Incarnate and came to the conclusion that seminary could change a lot of my ideas and refine my faith but they could not take away from me my belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ. I really appreciated what Maurice Wyles tried to say in his essay in that book, but I failed to see that we must abandon the idea of a virgin birth and the incarnation simply because science has advanced and our knowledge of human reproductive systems has improved to the point that we are engaging in limited genetic engineering. But in God Has Many Faces, I really have begun to question Hick's Christianity and wonder if he is not now a universalist at heart. I can not ignore the New Testament and my own personal experience of God which causes me to proclaim Jesus as my Lord and Saviour and the Saviour who died for the sins of the whole world. But because I believe he died for the sins of the whole world and yet men reject him, I believe that God is faithful to his promises and there will be those whom he chooses to pass by who will be condemned to eternal separation from God which I call hell. Jesus is more than a metaphorical expression, he is life that redeems and recreates. Not once did Hick point out that Jesus was raised from the dead by the power of God, something that no guru or avatar ever has claimed. The witness of the Gospels and the Book of Acts supply many proofs that Jesus was crucified unto death, was among the dead for three days and then arose from the gates of Hell with the keys to life and death and walked among his disciples and many others for 40 days before ascending to heaven. While I can embrace the fact that other world religions experience God, I do not believe they can find salvation without accepting Christ. I can not reject the teaching of the New Testament concerning verses which are Jesus' words even if they are in the Book of John. To be faithful to our missionary mandate, all Christians must proclaim the gospel that Jesus has come and he is coming again to bring salvation and judgement. Hick raises questions concerning our personal time in history and in culture that are not easily answered and I'm really not sure that these are questions for us to answer. I pray that I will never pretend to know to whom God grants grace and salvation. It is enough for me to know Matthew 13 that I can not tell by outward appearances what is grain and what is chaff. With regard to his statement concerning the survival of these other religions, his argument is weak. Culturally derived values can be very ungodly and perpetuated for centuries as is evidenced by the caste system in India. I will agree with Hick that we need to return to God but for totally different reasons. There are many occasions that we do things in the name of our religion that are not scriptural or done for the glory of God but in fact are done for the glory of man. Our center is not God's one nature but a triune nature, a trinity of character and love which goes forth from God through Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit. We must be faithful witnesses to this when we engage in interfaith dialogue and proclaim the Gospel to the ends of the earth.

I will stop here since you asked that the critique be limited to a half page, but I could write pages to counter Hick.

very good.

Ventura - Jan. 14, 1985

Major ^{Priorities} ~~Issues~~ in World Ministries Today.

The major issue in world ministries today isn't one of the usual major issues which occupy so much of our discussion about missions at all. It's not peace or justice or evangelism or church growth. It's ^{not} poverty or hunger, or ^{contextualization} spiritual development or ~~the theology of missions~~. All of these are major issues - ~~and~~ all are of crucial and critical importance. But I'm going to begin this lecture by suggesting that a good case can be made for the proposition that no one of these all-important major issues is the most important issue.

The most important issue you will face in your own globally-oriented world ministry, whether you serve in North America or the ~~far~~ Kalahari desert, will be the issue of missionary priorities - (which of the many priorities demanding the attention of conscientious Christians seeking to be obedient to the call of God) will you make the priority in your life. The most important issue is the issue of priorities - and ^{this} involves ~~the~~ not only what, but why and when. It's a theological issue. It's a teleological issue. It involves ^{searching} a look at all ~~issues~~ the issues - and asking why bother with a Christian mission, what's the purpose of it all anyway?

My opening word of advice, therefore (though you haven't asked for it) is: if you are called to be a missionary (which is the word I will use for people in "world ministries"), and if you don't have a priority, you'd better get one quick, or someone will give you one - your board or mission, ^{you'll be that} your colleagues, your school or even the government under which you find you have to work. They will probably all - in one way or another - be eager to give you a priority on you - and it may not be the

the priority you want or think important. I'm distinguishing here between an assigned task, like teaching English, and a major missionary priority. We all will have to do a lot of things as missionaries which we don't particularly enjoy and don't think important. But always between the necessary assignments and responsibilities that keep us busy, we must have an inner priority orientation of our own that is voluntary and free and self-directing. This will be absolutely necessary in your life and ministry. It is what keeps you on target, and in balance, so that however many peripheral things keep getting hung around your neck, you can feel you are still afloat and moving forward.

Only if you have set yourself adequate goals, and priorities that ^{are} demonstrably ~~major~~ of major significance, will you know that the direction in which you are moving is really forward?

I. So the first question ^{is} ~~are~~: How do we choose direction?
 What ^{is} ~~are~~ our priorities?

In terms of major priorities, there are only about four or five ~~a missionary~~ ways a Christian can look at the world Christian mission. Here is the way one Catholic missiologist analyzes the alternatives. He is José Comblin, a Belgian missiologist, theologian and social critic who has taught ~~at~~ in Brazil, Chile + Belgium. His book, The Meaning of Mission, outlines mission goals and priorities somewhat like this:

Peterson - working def. of a missionary. "A missionary is a person who knows the love of God" 118.

who is sent by a church
who engages in a specifically Christian vocation
who has a mutually recognized relationship
in the old & the field & at home. (1)

Date _____

Major Missionary Priorities

1. Evangelism
2. Education
3. Healthcare
4. Child
5. Self-help

I'm supposed to speak about "Major missionary priorities", and if you'll forgive me for a little semantic fudgery, the first thing I'd say about that topic is that major missionaries have priorities, and those that never make the major's don't!

I don't suppose that's quite what was meant by my topic "Major missionary priorities" - but it's a good place to begin: the importance of priorities. And my opening word of advice is, if you don't have a priority in your work as a missionary, you'd better get one quick, or someone will give you one - ^{your mission board, or mission} New York, or Atlanta - or your station, or your school - or the Teaching Beach Association - and it may not be the priority what you want or think important. Now ~~don't misunderstand~~, we all have to do a lot of things as missionaries which we don't like and don't think important. But an inner priority, orientation of your own is what keeps you on target and in balance, so that hours or many peripheral things keep getting by and you work, you ~~can~~ can feel your sense of self and moving forward.

But I suppose what Major Missionary "priorities" really means is the big question of how we know that - the direction in which we are moving is really forward. How do we choose direction, and ^{how do we} measure movement in mission?

§. How do we choose direction? What's your priority. In terms of major priorities, there are only about four or five ways a missionary can look at his Christian mission. Here's the way one Catholic missiologist analyzes the alternatives. (See Comblin: The Meaning of Mission, 1972)

1. We can act as ~~the church~~ ^{our major mission priority} - evangelization. This will result.

I. We can set as our major missionary priority - evangelization. This (2)
Date will mean: -

- a. The preaching of the gospel message to any human being who has not yet heard the Word of God, or ^{has not} accepted it.
- b. Planting churches to minister to those who accept, and endeavor to become platforms for further evangelistic advance.
- c. Forming mature + witnessing disciples of Christ through instruction in the churches as tools of the evangelistic advance.
" Matt 28. 18-19. "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations. Baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." Korea - my father

II. Or we can set as our ^{major} ^{priority} mission: Liberation. This will mean: -

- a. Preaching Christ's message of ^{liberation} ^{salvation} to the total human being, body + soul, individual + society.
- b. Taking the side of the ^{the sick} poor and the oppressed, being of service to them ^{to free them from their} ~~and advocating~~ ^{poverty, their sickness & their oppression.} ~~liberating~~ policies.
- c. Working as an agent of social criticism, and preaching ^{not only evangelically,} ~~but also~~ prophetically.

Math. 25: 34 ff "Come... Inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the creation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me food. I was thirsty, and you gave me drink."
Latin America

III. Or we can set as our ^{major} ^{priority} mission: Mutual Assistance. This will mean: -

- a. Providing mutual assistance among the churches of the world by making resources and personnel available according to the needs, as defined by local churches.
- b. Recruiting and sending technologically skilled personnel to other churches, as requested by those churches.

Acts 16. 9. "Come over to Macedonia and help us."
Ethiopia

Date _____

IV. As we can set as our mission: the building of the Church. This will mean -

a. Creating the church by identifying with the needs and aspirations of the men & women of today and gathering them into a community of believers.

b. Promoting the unity of the church.

c. Motivating leaders in the Christian community to live as Christians in society, so that they can create a Christian culture.

d. Establishing a meaningful dialogue with other religions

Syriacans 1. 4-6. "God chose us in Him before the world began, to be holy and blameless, full of love, so that all might praise the glorious favor He has bestowed on us in His beloved."

Church of S. India
Communidad de base (Brazil)

V. As we can set as our mission: Fulfillment This will mean -

a. Bringing any true and authentic religion to its inherent fulfillment through its corporate conversion to Christ

b. Showing respect for any authentic experience of God, and inviting further growth of those experiences.

c. Advocating the autonomy and creativity of indigenous Christian churches.

Mat. 5. 7. "Do not think that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets. I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them."

African Independent Churches

MISSION PRIORITIES

123
(4)
16

Date _____

Now some of these will sound very familiar and appealing. Others a bit strange, and dubious. But all of them have a point, and rightly understood and followed, I believe, can be Biblically valid priorities in mission. —

I began with a word of caution advice about picking a priority. Pick one, I said, or some ^{body else} ~~other~~ will pick ^{it} for you. Let me ~~also~~ ^{add} another, unasked for piece of advice. When you've picked your priority, don't insist that your priority is the only one.

[*Evangelism: First among Equals - p. 11.]

There was a time when most Christians thought evangelism ~~was~~ was the only priority — and evangelism in only the narrowest of senses — saving souls, not even planting churches. They were wrong. But then the church moved too far the other way. The only priority that came through clearly out of the upsala meeting of the World Council of Churches in 1968 was liberation — social justice and reconstruction. As in one of the preparatory papers: "The church's service to the world is that of being the pioneer of every reform without making any claims for Christianity or trying to Christianize the revolution." (R. Shaull)

Now social justice is an extremely important Christian priority for mission. But not the only one... Four years later the Nairobi Assembly (1972) ^{valiantly} tried to restore the balance, and did much to repair the damage: "Christ mediates ~~the~~ God's new covenant through both salvation and service... Christians are called to engage in both evangelism and social action... of dedication, but that was not enough. The church needs more than balancing — it needs new, in most practical, working partnerships there is a leading partner, a "first among equals". I find some good suggestions in every one of the above priorities. But I submit that what makes the Christian mission different from other commendable and sincere missions to improve the human race is that in the Christian mission our vertical relationship to God comes first, while the second, our horizontal relations to our neighbors in this world is like water, and just as indispensable, but still second.

The supreme task of the church is to glorify God and to bring men to him: evangelism.

*There is nothing quite so crippling
to both evangelism and social action
as to confuse them in definition
or to separate them in practice.*

tion and service...Christians are called to engage in both evangelism and social action," it declared (Official Report of the Fifth Assembly, p. 43). But that was not enough. What the church needs for the future in mission is more than balance. It needs momentum. Not an uneasy truce between faith and works, but a partnership.

Now in most practical, working partnerships, there must be a leading partner, a "first among equals," or nothing gets done. Which should be the leading partner in mission? Evangelism or social action?

I submit that what makes the Christian mission different from other commendable and sincere attempts to improve the human condition is this. In the Christian mission our vertical relationship to God comes first. Our horizontal relationship to our neighbor is "like unto it," and is just as indispensable, but it is still second. The leading partner is evangelism.

This is not to exalt the proclamation at the expense of Christian action. They belong together. But it does insist that, while without the accompanying deeds the good news is scarcely credible, without the word the news is not even comprehensible! Have you ever tried to watch the news on TV with the sound turned off? Besides, the real good news is not what we in our benevolence do for others, but what God has done for us all in Christ. Evangelism, as has been said, is one beggar telling another where to find bread.

The supreme task of the Church, then, now and for the future, is evangelism. It was the supreme task for the Church of the New Testament. It was also set forth as the supreme challenge facing the World

Council of Churches at its founding in 1948. "If an ecumenical movement," wrote Bishop Stephen Neill in the preparatory papers, "is not primarily a strategy of worldwide evangelism, then it is nothing but an interesting academic exercise."

Half the world unreached

The determining factor in developing evangelistic strategies, I believe, is that evangelism moves always in the direction of the unreached. "Those without the Gospel" is what the Presbyterian Program Agency's excellent planning paper calls them. "More than one-half of the world's people are still without the simplest knowledge of the good news of God's saving love in Jesus Christ," it points out. There is no greater challenge to evangelism in mission than that.

In this connection it may be useful to note that for general strategic evangelistic planning, some missiologists suggest as a rule of thumb that "a group of people are classified as unreached if less than 20 percent claim or are considered to be Christian." Christians are rightly concerned about the grievous imbalances of wealth and food and freedom in the world. What about the most devastating imbalance of all: the unequal distribution of the light of the knowledge of God in Jesus Christ?

I am not overly addicted to statistics. But what does it say about a "six-continent" approach to evangelism," for example, to find that most of our church mission funds still go to ourselves on the sixth continent, which is between 70-percent and 80-percent at least

nominally Christian? Africa, however, is perhaps 40-percent Christian by the same rough and imprecise standards. And Asia, which holds more than one-half of all the people in the world, is only 3-percent to 4-percent even nominally Christian.

In the next ten years, the number of non-Christians which will be added to the population of Asia will be greater than the entire present population of the United States multiplied almost three times (650 million, compared to 220 million). Treating all six continents as equals for strategical purposes is a selfish distortion of the evangelistic realities in the world.

One last thought. There is an unexpected bonus to keeping the definition of evangelism simple. It means that anyone can get into the act. One of the happiest lessons I ever learned about evangelism came not from a professional evangelist, but from a watermelon vendor.

It was in a Korean village, and my wife came up to ask him how much a watermelon cost. He was so surprised at finding a long-nosed foreigner who spoke Korean that at first he was struck dumb. He even forgot to tell her the price. There was something more important he wanted to say. He asked, "Are you a Christian?" And when she replied, "Yes," he smiled all over. "Oh, I'm so glad," he said, "because if you weren't, I was going to tell you how much you are missing."

If more of us were so happy about what we have found in the Lord Jesus Christ that we couldn't wait to tell those who have not found Him how much they are missing, we would need to worry no longer about the future of evangelism. □

- I. Nestman #1 (635-900?) End of Tang.
- II. Nestman #2 + R.C. #1 (1000-1368) End of Mingol dynasty.
- III. R.C. #2 (1583-1774) End of Jesuits; Fr. Revolution.
- IV. Prot. #1, R.C. #3 (1807-1949) Communist Revolution.

Distinguished Alumnus Award

to

Benjamin M. Weir

Class of 1950

Yonkers Theological Seminary

in

Recognition of distinguished service ~~as~~ for thirty-three years ^{a Christian} ^{as missionary} in the Middle East

Acknowledgment of his contributions to peace ^{and understanding} as teacher in a Shiite neighborhood,

as administrator of community services among needy Armenians in Iran, Syria, Lebanon and Turkey, and as ecumenical representative working with the National Evangelical Synod of Syria and Lebanon.

Celebration of the inspiration of his steadfast Christian example of grace

under pressure, gentleness in the midst of violence, love for those who ~~wanted~~ ^{had} grievously wronged him, and ~~strong~~ ~~strong~~ confidence that in the strong hands of God ^{his Father} there was always hope.

Robert Morrison - (1782 - 1834)

Religious home, conversion experience, joined Presbyterian church.

1807 - reaches China under London Mis. Soc. East India Co. refuses passage, takes US ship.
but takes position as translator for E. India Co.

1819 - completed translation of OT & NT; became famous for Chinese-Eng. Dictionary.

1814 - baptized first convert. But in first 25 years, he + his colleagues bapt. only 10 Chinese.

Donald H. Fox
Dr. Moffett
EC22
March 13, 1985

Princeton Sem 1841
China 1842
Martyr 1847

Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Missionary to China,
Edited by his Father (the Hon. Walter Lowrie), New York,
Robert Carter & Brothers, 1849. Later editions published by
the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

This was once a popular book at Princeton Theological Seminary. There are still four copies of it in Speer Library. But its popularity was not limited to Princeton. The book went through five editions, selling over 5,000 copies from its publication in 1849 to the final printing in 1880. If the Presbyterian Church had saints, the Rev. Walter Macon Lowrie would surely have been a candidate for sainthood. His memoirs form something like a hagiography, though it escapes from the myth-making veneration so often associated with that category of religious writing. From all perspectives, the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie was a pious and good man.

His name is the first inscribed on the bronze plaque which lists the missionary martyrs of Princeton Theological Seminary. Under the words, "Of These The World was Not Worthy," Walter Macon Lowrie's name appears with the briefest of biographies: "Thrown overboard by Pirates in the China Sea 1847."

To enlarge this biography a bit more, I add these facts: He had graduated from the Seminary in 1841 (the plaque says 1840!). He was born on February 18, 1819 and died on August 19, 1847 at the age of 29.

For the Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie is not a biography in the modern sense of the word. In a volume of 500 pages only the last 50 pages are comprised of documents not written by Walter M. Lowrie himself. These are mainly letters of condolence written to the father of the missionary, the editor of the volume, who was also named Walter Lowrie. He is distinguished from his son not only by the

LOWRIE

addition of the middle initial, but also by adding the title of the office to which he was elected -- that of Senator (from Pennsylvania.)

Senator Walter Lowrie became the first Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. So it is with a heightened sense of pathos that one reads his sparse comments introducing each chapter of the Memoirs: it is as though the Senator, like Abraham, had sacrificed his son.

The organization of the book is strictly chronological. It begins with Walter M. Lowrie's first letter, written in his second year of studies at Jefferson College in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania. As was the practice in those days, he began college at the young age of 14. The first chapter contains 11 letters from his college years.

The second chapter is comprised of 37 letters written during his seminary years, including the interim years between college and seminary when he lived at home. He attended Princeton Theological Seminary from May 1838 ("joining the regular class formed in September following") to May 1841. He was ordained by the Second Presbytery of New York on Nov. 9, 1841. He had decided to be a missionary early in seminary and was first determined to go to Africa. But the Board of Foreign Missions decided that he would be of greater use in Ch_ina. And on January 19, 1842 he set sail for China.

The third chapter of his memoirs include letters written during the voyage, together with the journal that he began to keep. He was at sea for 127 days, from January 19 to May 27, 1842, from New York to Macao, China, a city slightly south of Hong Kong.

The next six chapters cover the ensuing six years, though the fourth chapter deals only with the remaining months of 1842 spent in China. The chapters contain personal letters and excerpts from his journal. It needs to be noticed here that this journal was a "public" one, in style not unlike his letters home to his parents. Indeed on one occasion he mailed a section of his journal home as a letter. But

he also kept a "private journal" which at his death amounted to two volumes. These were destroyed according to his "special written request." This is the only instance of a conscious attempt to glorify his memory by excising a store of information about the inner man.

The letters and journal entries for the next five years give a full picture of his missionary activities, first at Macao, then at Ningpo. He devoted himself to the study of the language, learning Mandarin and one dialect. He helped set up a missionary printing press which used Chinese characters cast in Europe. At the time of his death he was engaged in compiling a Chinese dictionary based on the classics of Chinese literature called the "Four Books." The outward circumstance which resulted in his death was the invitation offered to him to join a commission charged to improve the Chinese translation of the New Testament. He was particularly involved in the debate over the appropriate Chinese term for God.

This commission met in Shanghai and it was on the return voyage to Ningpo that the small boat on which he was the only foreigner was boarded by pirates. The pirates first seemed to ignore the American, but as they were getting ready to leave, they decided to kill him, perhaps out of fear that he would later be an effective witness against them. So they threw him into the sea.

The whole grim story is told in a letter by Walter M. Lowrie's missionary colleague, the Rev. A. W. Loomis to Senator Lowrie dated August 25, 1847. (It did not reach New York City until December!)

Included in the Memoirs are two long essays which were never published elsewhere. The first is entitled "The Shipwreck of the Harmony" which relates an earlier adventure in which he almost lost his life. At the end of this essay he sees himself as a modern Moses, "drawn out of the waters" and called "to rescue God's chosen people in China." The second essay is a more mature, though less outwardly exciting, description of "The Real Trials of a Missionary." For Walter M. Lowrie, still a

Hudson Taylor

1865 - all Prot. missionaries in coastal areas

11 provinces - no resident missions. Most had never seen a Prot. missionary

Hudson Taylor (1832 -)

"one of the greatest missionaries of all time... one of the 4 or 5 most influential foreigners who came to China in 19th for any purpose, religious or secular" (Ch. Ch. p. 382)

Parents prayed he would become a missionary to China, but did not tell him

1853 - age 21, sails to China under Chinese Evangelization Soc.

1857 - leaves C.E.S. because of its financial practices. He thought debt was unsavory.

- This cut him off from support - threw him "back upon the Lord"

1860 - ill health forces him back to England. On way - prep for 5 more missions for China.

1905 - when he died, CIM had 828 missionaries, in each of China's 18 provinces

"moral power of organization + administration" Latourette [J. B. Hall of Faith missions?]

Principles: - ① undenominational - but assisted, not competed with denom. societies.

② international

③ no personal solicitation for funds. (so as not to compete)

④ conformity with social + living conditions of Chinese.

⑤ directing Board in China, not Britain

⑥ its aim - not to win converts or build up a Christian community, but

to spread knowledge of gospel throughout the Empire (pp 385f.)

ASIAN CHURCH HISTORY

II. The Mediaeval Period

B. Beginnings of Roman Catholic Missions in Asia.

Bibliography (for Mongol Period)

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1. Roman Catholic Christianity under the Mongols (1206-1368).

About the middle of the 12th century ^{startling} ~~electrifying~~ reports began to filter into Europe from Asia--reports about a mysterious Christian king beyond the falling empire of the Arabs and the rising power of the fearful Turks. Otto of Freising, the greatest historian of the Middle Ages and no credulous believer in wonderful tales (he rejected the Donation of Constantine as a forgery, for example), records in his Chronicon (vii, 35) the report of a Syrian bishop visiting Italy in 1145 that "a certain John, who lives beyond Persia and Armenia in the extreme Orient, a king and a priest and a Christian with his whole nation, though a Nestorian," had defeated the king of Persia, burned his capital (Schatana) and had been stopped from advancing on Jerusalem only by the broad, uncrossable waters of the Tigris river (quoted in Yule-Cordier, Cathay, vol. 3, p. 16, from Germanic. historic. illustr. etc. Christiani Urstisi Basiliensis, 1505).

This was electrifying news to 12th century Catholic Europe. The Second Crusade (1144-48) was going badly and would end in complete disaster. Jerusalem which had been won and held by the Crusaders at such great cost would fall back to Saladin and his Moslems in 1187. Richard the Lion-hearted of England, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany and Philip Augustus of France would try and fail to recapture it in the most ambitious crusade of all, the Third (1189-92). Yet here from the other end of the world came persistent reports that a king, called Prester John, at the head of Christian armies from Asia was accomplishing what the greatest knights and kings of Western Christendom had so tragically failed to do--defeat the Saracens.

Discouraged Western Christians eagerly believed and spread

the story that help was on its way in the person of Prester John. But the great deliverer was difficult to locate. In 1177 the Pope (Alexander III) heard of a Christian king in India (or Abyssinia, some said), and this king, too, was identified as Prester John (Yule-Cordier, p. 17, quoting Baronius). He still did not appear, but the hope lingered on.

Then came the 13th century, which like the 1st and the 7th, was another explosive turning point in human history. Far off on the Asian horizon like a yellow cloud of dust out of the Gobi desert, the Golden Horde of Genghiz Khan began to ride across the roof of the world. Hope flickered in the west once more, but as the short, thick-set, blood-drinking Mongol horsemen brode across the Volga in 1222 to butcher the princes of Southern Russia, that hope collapsed. These were not the Christian soldiers of Prester John. More like the armies of Antichrist, wrote Roger Bacon, the mediaeval scientist, and some people prepared for the end of the world. (W.W. Rockhill, Journey of Mr. of Lubruca, quoting Matthew of Paris, Chronica Majora, iii, 488; and Bacon's Opus Majus, i, 263 on the second Mongol invasion)

And yet, in the providence of God, the fearful Mongol invasions of the 13th century opened the road to Asia for missions from the west as it had never been open before since the days of the Apostles. In the days of Rome it had been blocked by the Persian Empire, then after the 7th century by the Arabs, and finally by the Turks. Now at last it was opened, not by Western crusaders and not by an Asian Prester John but by an explosive new power rising in the east.

Let me review briefly the world of the 13th century. In the 1st century, you will remember, three great powers dominated the earth--the Roman Empire in the West, the Persian Empire in the center, and China in the far East. The explosive new factor in that first century was Imperial Rome. In the 7th century the picture drastically altered. Four great power centers now began to dominate the world. One was shaping up in northern Europe and would take a vaguely imperial form as the Holy Roman Empire. The second was what was left of old Rome, the Eastern Empire of Byzantium at Constantinople. The third was the Arab Caliphate in Baghdad, which had defeated Persia. And the fourth was still China, entering the golden age of the T'ang dynasty. The rough new power factor in the 7th century was the rise of the Arabs, following Mohammed. Now in the 13th century the emergence of still another new power shakes the world, and the world is divided in three again: Christian Europe in the West (Byzantium begins to fade); Islam in the center, blocked from entering Europe but keeping Europe out of Asia; and in the east, rising out of Central Asia, the Mongols. As so often in missions history, times of ferment and change proved to be openings for the gospel: in the first century, the work of the apostles; in the 7th, Nestorian expansion into East Asia; and in the 13th, the beginnings of Roman Catholic missions in Asia.

It was the first stirrings of the time of change that had probably given rise to the story of Prester John. As early as 1000 A.D. a revival of Nestorianism in Central Asia began to win thousands of converts among the Uighurs, Keraites, Merkits and Onguts. In the next century the northeastern tribes moved against the borders of the Sung dynasty. A northern Manchurian tribe, the Jurchen, conquered the Khitans who then ruled Manchuria and parts of Northern Korea, and set up a rival dynasty which they called China (1117-1234), pushing the Sung Empire south out of northern China. One group of the defeated Khitans moved west into what is now Sinkiang and Turkestan. In 1141 they met and defeated a Persian (Seljuk Turk) army which was resisting their westward advance, and they set up a new western Chinese empire called Kara-Khitay (or Black Cathay) which lasted for almost 100 years (1124-1211) in the Tarim River basin south of Lake Balkash stretching from Samarkand and Kashgar to Lop Nor. This was the territory of the Christianized Uighurs and Naimans. It was probably the report of the defeat of Sanjas, the Mohammedan Sultan of Persia, by the Khitan king of Black Cathay, Yelü Tashi (or Tushi Talgun), which filtered into Europe in 1145 and gave rise to the legend of Prester John. Yelü Tashi was not Christian, but many of his subjects were, and at least he had defeated the Mohammedans. (See H. Howorth, Hist. of the Mongols, Part I, pp. 5-7).

All this was only prelude to the storm to come. About twenty years after the defeat of the Persian Sultan (i.e. about 1162) a Mongol child was born east of Black Cathay near Lake Baikal where the Orkhon and Serenge Rivers flow together. It is about as remote an area as one could find, about half way between Irkutsk and Ulan Bator. The child's name was Temujin and as Genghis Khan he changed the map of the world. His great achievement was that for the first and only time in history he united the fierce, nomadic tribes of northern Asia and hammered them into a cohesive political and military organization. They held together for only 150 years but the world has never seen another army like it.

Genghis Khan took Peking in 1215, and three years later his cavalry swept into northern Korea, taking the western Capital, Pyongyang. Then suddenly they turned West and in one of the most stupendous forced marches of all time poured across Asia. Black Cathay fell. The Mongols crossed the towering Pamirs that separate East from West Asia and the Persian-Turkish state of Khwarizmia was swallowed up. That was Mohammedan territory, and in Europe the legend of Prester John came back to life. In 1225 they defeated a Russian army under the Prince of Kiev and Europe beyond the Volga was open to them, but they drew back. In 1227 Genghis died. His youngest son, Tule, was appointed Regent until the election of a new Khan. And Tule's wife was the Nestorian princess Sorocan of the Kerait tribe.

While Asia waited for the election of a successor, Europe

relaxed, thinking the storm was over. But the worst was yet to come. A second Mongol invasion after the election of Ogodaï as Khakhan swept into Europe in 1238 laying it utterly waste from the Baltic to the Danube. Poland, Lithuania, Silesia, Moravia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania and Hungary were almost depopulated in great swathes of conquest. The Mongol forces, taking Budapest, poised for the annihilation of Austria, when a dusty courier spurring his way all across Asia brought word that Ogodaï was dead, and the descendants of Genhiz Khan were summoned back for the election of a new leader. Again, as in 1227 the death of a Khan saved Europe.

This time the West took the new conquerors more seriously. The Pope, always eager to assert both his temporal and spiritual leadership of Christendom, tried to rally Europe both militarily and ecclesiastically to avert disaster. The disasters of the Fourth (1202), Fifth (1218) and Sixth (1228) Crusades which only turned Christians against Christians and sacked the Christian city of Constantinople but left Jerusalem to the Moslems had shocked Europe and discredited the whole crusading enterprise, but Pope Innocent IV tried to proclaim a Crusade to save Hungary from the new "envoys of Satan", the Mongols. At the same time, in a more positive way, he turned to a more powerful force than the sword and sent out the first of a series of Christian missions. If the Mongols cannot be conquered, he thought, perhaps they can be converted, or at least brought into an alliance with Christendom against a common enemy, the Moslems.

Providentially, missionary revival had already begun in the Roman church. Two potentially great new missionary orders had only recently been founded, the Franciscans and the Dominicans. They are called mendicant orders and added a new dimension to traditional monasticism, an explicit insistence on preaching and mission to those outside the church. They were missionary and evangelistic.

Francis of Assisè has been called "the first to make the ideal of missionary service an integral part of the religious life." He not only organized his Franciscans, beginning about 1210, around that ideal, he went as a missionary himself to the Moslems during the Fifth Crusade where he was grieved and disillusioned by the vices and lack of spiritual motives of the crusaders. As the order grew after the death of Francis in 1226, Francis' missionaries became the backbone of Roman Catholic outreach in Asia, particularly among the Mongols in Russia and China. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, reports Latourette, the Franciscans had seventeen stations in the Mongol-ruled parts of Russia, with several bishoprics and two archbishoprics (Latour. Hist. of Christianity, p. 582 f.). But more important were their missions to the center of Mongol power in Central Asia and China.

In the next hundred years, from 1242 to 1342 seven or eight different Catholic missions, partly political and partly religious, were sent on the long and difficult journey across Asia to the Mongols:

Most of the missionaries were Franciscan, with a scattering of Dominicans. "'Tis worthy of the grateful remembrance of all Christian people," wrote Ricold of Montecroce, "that just at the time when God sent south into the eastern parts of the world the Tartars to slay and be slain, He also sent forth in the west his faithful and blessed servants Dominic and Francis, to enlighten, instruct and build up in the Faith." (quoted in Yule-Cordier, Cathay and the way Thither... vol. 1, p. 155).

Here is a listing of the first major missionary ventures of the friars into Asia in the hundred years that the way remained open, from 1245 to 1346:

- ✓ 1. Friar John of Pian de Carpine, (1245-1247). Franciscan.
2. Friar Lawrence of Portugal, (1245?) Franciscan.
3. Friar Anselm of Lombardy, (1247-1250). Dominican.
4. Friar Andrew of Longumeau, (1249-1251). Dominican.
- ✓ 5. Friar William of Rubruck, (1253-1255). Franciscan.
6. The Polo brothers:
 - a. First journey, without missionaries, (1260-1269).
 - b. Second journey, with Marco & missionaries, (1271-1295).
7. John of Montecorvino, (1291-1328). Franciscan.
8. Reinforcements for the Franciscan mission, (1307, 1311).
9. Friar Odoric of Pordenone, (1322-1328).
10. John of Marignolli, (1342-1346).

Friar John of Pian de Carpine (the name is also given as Plano Carpini, etc.). In April 1245 Pope Innocent organized two missions to the Mongols and entrusted them to the Franciscans. The most important one, to the Mongols in Russia, was entrusted to John of Pian de Carpine, a direct disciple of Francis of Assisi who finally delivered the papal letter not to the Mongol commander in Russia but to the Great Khan, Kuyuk Khan (grandson of Jenghiz) near the Mongol capital of Caracorum in Mongolia. The purpose, as we have noted was two-fold: politically to avert the Mongol onslaughts on Christendom, and spiritually, to preach Christianity to them.

John's route took him first through familiar Christian territory, to Germany, Bohemia, Poland and on to Kiev in Russia on the Dnieper which had been captured and destroyed by the Mongols seven years before. From there they moved into the unknown. Not even their horses could live beyond Kiev, they were told. They must have Mongol horses which could find fodder under the snow. It had already taken them ten months ^(to Kiev) to come this far. Two weeks out of Kiev they were suddenly halted by Mongols. Questioned closely about their purpose, the missionaries answered that they were "envoys of the Lord Pope who was the lord and father of Christians" who had sent them to the King of the Tartars "because he desired that all Christians should be friends of the Tartars and at peace with them. Moreover, as he wished they they should be mighty with God in heaven, he, the Lord Pope, advised them..that they should become Christians and receive the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ for otherwise they could not be saved." The envoys went on boldly to rebuke the Mongols for killing so many people, especially Christians, and their own subjects, Hungarians, Moravians and Poles, who had done them no harm. (Rubruck-Rockhill, pp. 5,6).

Carpini's orders directed him to deliver the Pope's letter to the chief Mongol prince in Russia. That was Batu, conqueror of eastern Europe, eldest son of Jenghiz's eldest son, and ruler of the Golden Horde, the far western division of the Mongols. The Mongols in the first camp hurried the papal messengers on for another month through the frozen wastes before they reached the edge of Batu's camp on the Volga. It was a city of tents so large that it took Carpini a whole hour to ride from the edge of camp to Batu's tent. There he had to pass through two fires, a superstitious observance that was thought to strip him of any evil power that might hurt the chief, before they were admitted to the great tent, which had once belonged to the King of Hungary. Each of his 26 wives had a great tent of her own. Batu refused to receive the papal letter, but said it must be delivered to the Great Khan in Mongolia, and keeping all the rest of the party as hostage, he sent just the two missionaries, Pian de Carpine and Benedict the Pole, off to the unknown east. "We started out most tearfully," writes Carpine, "not knowing whether we were going to life or death. We were furthermore so feeble that we could hardly ride; during the whole of that lent our only food had been millet with salt and water..." (Rubruk-Rockhill, p. 11).

By about the middle of May, after riding for 7 weeks through the territory of the Golden Horde, they came to the edge of Batu's territory on the Aral Sea, and entered the territory of Jenghiz's second son, Jagatai (d. 1241), land formerly belonging to the Khwarizmian Empire (Moslem) and the Kara-Khitay Empire among the Christianized Uighurs and Naimans, though Carpine flatly calls them "pagans". This would be on the Sino-Mongolian side of the roof of Asia. It took more than 2 months of hard, painful riding from the edge of Batu's realm to the Mongol capital at Karakorum, which they reached on July 22. There they found that a new Great Khan had been elected, Kuyuk, son of Godai, son of Jenghiz,--not Batu, the eldest of Jenghiz' surviving descendants; the two were rivals--. So at the enthronement of Kuyuk in the providence of God, among the 4000 envoys--a "Seljuk Sultan, Grand Prince Yaroslav of Russia, Princes from China and Korea, from Fars and Kirmin, from Georgia, from Aleppo, great dignitaries from the Caliphate, emissaries from the rulers of the Assassins, all in their splendid robes... were the two Franciscan friars over whose plain brown habit there had also been placed ceremonial robes..". So the Pope's letter came to the hands of the most powerful ruler in the world, and Kuyuk Khan kept them waiting a month for an answer. But they did have an audience with Kuyuk, his first since his enthronement, and were asked if they wished to make him any presents. Looking across the valley they saw more than 500 carts "all full of gold and silver and silken gowns", presents for the Khan, but embarrassedly had to confess they had used up everything on the journey and had nothing to give him. (Rubruk-Rockhill, p. 24).

One bit of news, however, filled them with excitement. They found that the Emperor was constantly attended by Christians (Nestorians), and some of the Christians in his household told Carpine "that they firmly believed he was about to become a Christian." As evidence of this, Carpine, adds, "he keeps Christian clerks and gives them allowances, and he has

and he has always the chapel of the Christians in front of his great tent, and (these priests) chant publicly and openly and beat (a tablet) according to the fashion of the Greeks at appointed hours just like other Christians..." (Rubruck-Rockhill, p. 29)

When the two friars left for the long return journey, the Khan proposed sending his own ambassadors with them. Carpine discouraged this. His reasons are revealing. First, he said, "we feared they would see the dissensions and wars among us". Second, we feared they would be spies. And third, we feared they would be killed in Europe, "as our people for the most part are arrogant and hasty". The missionaries did not want to expose the weaknesses of Western Christendom to the Mongols. (Ibid)

The missionaries returned to the Pope in Lyons with optimistic news of the possibility of a conversion of the Mongols. Unknown to them, the Great Khan's letter of reply which they carried was a proud and chilling warning of precisely the opposite. Perhaps because of its negative nature it was never made public, and was unknown to historians until the 19th century and only recently has the original become available. It reads, in part, as follows:

"By the power of the Eternal Heaven, We are the all-embracing Khan of the United Great Nations. It is our command:

This is a decree, sent to the great Pope that he may know and pay heed. After holding counsel with the monarchs under your suzerainty, you have sent us an offer of subordination which we have accepted.... (You) should come in person with the monarchs to pay us homage and we should thereupon instruct you concerning the commands of the Yasak (Code of laws).

You have said it would be well for us to become Christians. You write to me in person about this matter... This your request we cannot understand. Furthermore, you have written me these words: 'You have attacked all the territories of the Magyars and other Christians, at which I am astonished. Tell me, what was their crime?' These your words we likewise cannot understand. Jenghiz Khan and Ogatai Khan revealed the commands of Heaven. Those of whom you speak showed themselves highly presumptuous and slew our envoys. Therefore, in accordance with the commands of the Eternal Heaven they have been slain.. If not by the command of Heaven, how can anyone slay or conquer out of his own strength?

And when you say: 'I am a Christian. I pray to God. I arraign and despise others,' how do you know who is pleasing to God and to whom He allots His grace?

Thanks to the power of the Eternal Heaven, all lands have been given us us from sunrise to sunset... Now...you in person at the head of the monarchs, all of you without exception, must come to tender us service and pay us homage...."

This was not the reply of a king about to become Christian. It chilled the Pope but it did not stop the missionaries.

Friar Lawrence of Portugal (1245 ?). At the same time that the Pope sent John of Pian de Carpine to the Mongols in Russia (from where he was sent to Mongolia), he sent another envoy to try to make contact with the other wing of the Mongol advance south into Asia Minor. Upon the death of Jenghiz the Empire had been divided among his sons of the heartland, Mongolia, to Ogodai; Eastern Mongolia, parts of Manchuria and China, to Tuli; Russia and Europe to his grandson Batu; and Kara-Khitai down into Asia Minor to Jagatai). All were subject, however, to the Great Khan elected from among them, Ogodai. By 1245 Jagatai had sent his generals sweeping out of Khwarizmia, which was his inherited territory, into Persia and Asia Minor. It was to one of these generals that Father Lawrence was sent but the mission was apparently unsuccessful, since nothing more is heard of it in any documents.

Friar Anselm of Lombardy (1247-1250). More is known of the Pope's second mission to Asia Minor, but it was no more successful than Friar Lawrence's. This time he sent a Dominican, Friar Anselm (or Ezzelino, or Ascellin). It was an attempt to avert the threat of another invasion of Europe which Carpine had brought back as the message of Kuyuk Khan. Anselm went to the Mongol General Baidju (Baicau) who had conquered Persia and Armenia. But he was the wrong man for the mission. He belittled the Mongols and said he had never heard of the Khan but they had better become Christians, stop killing innocent people and receive the word of the Pope "who is placed high above all the kings and princes of the world, and who is honoured by them as their Lord and Father". The Mongols laughed him to scorn. "How many countries has the Pope conquered?" they asked. Anselm refused to kneel before Baidju, he only bowed slightly. The Mongols, angered, debated whether to kill him alone, or his whole embassy. Some suggested they kill him, skin him, stuff the skin with chaff and send it back to the Pope. Baidju himself thought it would be enough to simply cut off his head, but his wife persuaded him not to, for there were rumors of a change in command in the Mongol court, and they waited word from Mongolia. The messenger, when he arrived, suggested they envoys simply be sent back, which was done, with a rude message to the Pope. (M. Frawdin, Mongol Empire, pp. 282-285) (Prim. Sce.: Vincent de Beauveic, Speculum Maiorum, bk. 29-31)

Friar Andrew of Longumeau (1249-1251).

However, before the papal envoy, Anselm, returned in 1250 with so harsh a reply from the Mongols, a completely different story had been brought to Europe by none other than envoys from the Mongols themselves. In fact this was more a diplomatic than missionary contact, for it was between the Mongol General of Persia and King Louis IX of France (St. Louis). In 1248 King Louis was in Cyprus en route to his crusade against Egypt. In December two envoys came to him with a letter from Ilchikadai the Mongol general. Both were Nestorian Christians (Frawdin, p. 296). And the ^{envoys} bore the astonishing news that much of the Mongol Empire seemed about to become Christian. They said that the Pope was famous among the Mongols; that the Mother of the Great Khan was a Christian; that the greatest prince had been converted; and that even the Great Khan, if he had not already done so (one report indicated he had been converted by a Serecen bishop named Mallachise--Rockhill, p. xxvii) was himself about to become a Christian. The letter wished the king success in his coming battle with the Moslems.

Enormously pleased by this unexpected good news, King Louis at once sent a return mission not just to the Mongol general in Persia but also all the way to Kuyuk Khan to encourage him in his reported intention to become a Christian, and to that end prepared costly presents including a tent-chapel of scarlet cloth embroidered with scenes from the life of Jesus "to show him what he must believe". Most precious of all (in St. Louis's eyes) he sent him a splinter of the "true cross". The man chosen to lead the mission as ambassador was Friar Andrew of Longumeau, a Dominican missionary to the Near East who spoke Arabic and who had been a member of Anselm's unsuccessful mission to Baidju (Rockh. p. xxvii f.)

Andrew set out for the court of the Great Khan early in 1249 ignorant of two important facts. The first was that the Mongol General Ilchikudai had acted without permission of the Great Khan in sending envoys to establish direct relations with the French King at Cyprus, and these Nestorian envoys had furthermore greatly exaggerated the prospects of the conversion of the Mongol court to Christianity. It has been suggested (Prawdin, p. 296) that the envoys may have hoped thereby to obtain Catholic recognition of the Nestorian church, which had long been condemned as heretical. The second fact of which Friar Andrew was ignorant was that Kuyuk was dead and a momentous power struggle was taking place among the descendants of Kuyuk Jenghiz Khan. When Jenghiz died in 1227 his third son, Ogodai, was elected supreme Khan. When Ogodai, in turn died in 1241, his son Kuyuk's succession had been hotly disputed by the ruler of the far western Mongol kingdom in southern Russia, Batu, son of Jenghiz's oldest son and the eldest of his grandsons. Batu was also probably the most powerful militarily of all the Mongols at the time. He is said to have had a force of 600,000 horsemen ready to ride at a moment's notice. Batu accepted the election of Kuyuk as Great Khan, but not without displeasure, and did not even come in person to the election. Kuyuk must ~~also~~ have had doubts about his loyalty, but did not show it. However, in 1248, about the time that King Louis was receiving the Nestorian envoys from the Mongols in Persia, Kuyuk suddenly announced a campaign against Europe and began to march toward Batu's territory. But what was he really doing? Marching against Europe, or against Batu? At this point Princess Sorocan, the Nestorian widow of Jenghiz's youngest son Tuli, made an important decision. She sent a warning to Batu that Kuyuk was moving West. Batu acted fast, gathering his army, he moved to meet Kuyuk. But neither was openly moving against the other. Then suddenly, when only a few days' march separated the two, Kuyuk died. Whether his death averted a fratricidal civil war will never be known; but of great significance is the fact that in the contest for election of the next Great Khan which followed, Batu now felt indebted to the Nestorian Princess Sorocan. That election divided the descendants of Jenghiz into two camps. On one side was the line of the eldest son, Juji, led by Batu, joined with the line of the youngest son, Tuli, led by Princess Sorocan. Against them were the descendants of the second son, Jagatai, and of the third son, Ogodai, led by Kuyuk's widow and now Regent, Ogul-Gaimish.

When Friar Andrew reached the court of the Mongols at Imil, east of Lake Balkash, he found the Queen-Regent Ogul-Gaimish ruling until an election could be held. Instead of the warm reception he expected from a Great Khan about to turn Christian, he found his arrival used as a pretext by the Regent to consolidate her political power. She proclaimed that the embassy from the West had come with tribute to offer to the Mongols the subjection of the King of France! Friar Andrew returned with the news of this diplomatic failure to find added woe: the King had lost his Crusade. Most humiliating of all, the Muslims had taken him captive and forced the French to ransom back their King.

William of Rubruck (1253-1255)

The most important of these earliest missionary exploration trips into Asia, both in terms of information brought back and of missionary motivation, was the ten-thousand-mile trek of the French Flemish Friar William of Rubruck, a Franciscan. He left Constantinople in May 1253 and returned two years later in June 1255 to Antioch. Though sent by King Louis IX of France, and not the Pope, Rubruck was commissioned solely as a missionary, not as an ambassador, for the King was not disposed to give again the impression, as had been done by Andrew of Longjumeau's ill-fated mission, that France was acknowledging Mongol sovereignty. Both in public sermons, as at Sancta Sophia in Constantinople at the start of his journey, and repeatedly to Mongol questioners, Rubruck insisted that he was only a missionary to unbelievers.

William of Rubruck contributed more than any other mediaeval writer except Marco Polo to Christendom's general knowledge of Asia. He was the first European to mention the country of Korea, for example, which he calls Ceulo (from Kao-li, as the Chinese pronounced the name Koryo (Rubruck p. 329, or p. 201 in Rockhill's edition). He was the first to describe the true sources of the Don and the Volga, to determine that the Caspian Sea was a lake, not a bay or gulf, and to identify Cathay with the country the Greeks called Seres. He was the first to describe the Mongolian capital of Karakorum, and to distinguish between Tartar and Mongols (putting the Tartars east of the Mongols). He was also the first to note the difference between the alphabetical writing of the Turks (Tanguts), Tibetans and Uighurs, and the ideographic writing of the Chinese. "They do their writing with a brush such as painters paint with," he wrote (Rubruck-Rockhill, p. 201 f.), "and a single character of theirs comprehends several letters so as to form a whole word." He should stand high on the roll of those missionary explorers and scholars who have added so much to the increase of knowledge scientifically and academically as well as religiously.

But most important in the history of missions, he gave Western Christians the first accurate descriptions of the ancient Nestorian communities which he found spread across Central Asia among the Mongol tribes, and the first account of Tibetan and northern Buddhism. "In short," says Rockhill, "no one traveller since his day has done half so much to give a correct knowledge of this part of Asia. (p. xxxviii).

Rubruck's route, starting from the Black Sea, took him farther north into central Russia than Pagan de Carpene who had started in Poland and moved south. The reason was that Rubruck had been told that Sartach, son of Batu, Genghis Khan's oldest grandson, had become a Christian and he hoped to enlist his aid on his mission and perhaps even find military assistance for King Louis's crusade against Egypt. Three days out of Soldaia, a port in the Crimea, he entered Mongol territory. He was traveling with 6 covered carts and 5 horses, but marveled at the huge carts on which the nomadic Mongols carried their tents--some of them 30 feet wide, pulled by 22 oxen. The women are very fat, he observed, and the smaller the noses the more beautiful they are considered. As for their manners, "they consider themselves the masters of the world," he said; and they very nearly were.

It took him two months to reach Sartach's camp which was located halfway between the Don River (the border of Europe and Asia, as it was considered) and the Volga. He found at once that Sartach

I Tang - 618-907 AD - Baghdad market 487 no 300

II Mansel 1260-1366 RC to China (Mansel record)

p. 10 - RC missions (10) - from 245 - 1346

- 1. John & Paul de Carpini (1245-47) France, #
- 5. Wm & Rubruck (1253-1255) France
- 7. John & Amalricus (1291-1328)

p. 10 - Paul de Carpini

2nd p 10-15 Wm & Rubruck.
 p 15 Mac

III, Jesuits -



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YESTERDAY'S LESSONS FOR TOMORROW'S MISSION

Mr. Moffett
Ventnor, Jan. 4, 1982

I. The Lessons of Failure: China.

A. Four Missions to China (635 - 1949 AD).

1. Nestorian I (635-906). Alopen, and T'ang dynasty Christianity.
2. Nestorian II, with a touch of Rome (1200-1368). Mongol dynasty Christians.
3. The Jesuits (1552-1773). Ricci, Schall and the Rites Controversy.
4. Protestant and Catholic Missions (1807-1949).
The Taip'ing Rebellion (Hung Hsiu-ch'uan), 1850-60.
The communist revolution (1949-76), to the death of Mao.

B. Some reasons for failure.

1. Dependence on the patronage of the central government.
2. Identification with minority groups in the empire.
3. Religious syncretism.
4. Dependence on foreign missionaries.
5. Dependence on control from abroad (the Vatican, foreign institutions).
6. Insufficient contextualization.

C. Three lessons in "balance" as a preliminary conclusion.

1. Christian mission fails when it allies itself too closely with political power; or unrealistically opposes it.
2. Christian mission fails when it adapts too much to non-Christian cultures and religions; or when it contextualizes too little into the national heritage.
3. Christian mission fails when it neglects to validate its spiritual message with social compassion and integrity (Outerbridge); or when it concentrates on a social program and message to the neglect of its transcendent, spiritual base.

II. The Lessons of Success: Korea.

A. The Growth of the Church (1884-1982)

1. The mission period (1884-1910).
2. The mission/church period (Japanese occupation, 1910-45)
3. The church period (1945-1982)

B. Some reasons for growth.

1. Bible-centered Christian education.
2. The Nevius Method: self-government, self-support, self-propagation.
3. The socio-political situation and identification with national hopes.

C. An attempt to correlate the three preliminary lessons of "China failure" to "Korea success".

III. The final lesson: A reminder that what passes for success is often failure, and vice versa. China is not "failure"; nor Korea "success".

For a long while, it seemed indeed that they were right. Let me outline, first the course of the revolution itself, then the story of the Chinese church under the oppression of the revolution: -

I. The Revolution in its 27 years ^{from 1949} to the death of Mao ^{in 1976} in three stages

A. The Glorious Years: The Period of Hope. (1949-1956).

I watched them come into our university campus: - Yenching. "More than Congress, p.2-3"

- great achievements - land reform which eventually doubled production ^{Antibiotic-} & food ..
- abolished poverty.
- doubled life expectancy from 32 to 64 yrs.
- First 5-year plan: - 1953-57. Great optimism: un- & steel prod. Triples; food doubles.
- FREEDOM of THOUGHT: The 100 flowers campaign (May 1956)
- "let a hundred flowers bloom, let 100 schools of thought contend" - (Chun 100)

B. The ~~Communist~~ Crack in the Revolution's Wall (1957-1966).

- ① June 1957 - Counterattack against "100 flowers" - Anti-Rightist Campaign. ^{① Intellectual disaster}
- ② 1958. Great Leap Forward. 'We'll be #1'. ^{② Economic disaster}
Falls flat on its face. People poorer will lift up industry by its own bootstraps. But "back your furnaces produce unusable iron. Fabricated reports deceive central govt."
- ③ 1957-62. The great disaster: land reform fails. Communism fails; peasants rebel. ^{③ Huge disaster}

C. The Death Blow: The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)

The Cult of Mao ^{the Great Leap} - The "little red book". Religion: Church: Party. Bible - 4 gospels

The Red Guards - ^{the 10 year years - a "cultural revolution" in education, science, art, literature, moral standards, etc.} - ^{the 10 year years - a "cultural revolution" in education, science, art, literature, moral standards, etc.} ^{the 10 year years - a "cultural revolution" in education, science, art, literature, moral standards, etc.}

The Group of Four ^{the 10 year years - a "cultural revolution" in education, science, art, literature, moral standards, etc.}

the "last years" - Mao's Xa church was left open.

II. The Church on the Revolution:

I. Period of Rejection and Control (1949-1956)

- A. Rejection: - Technically freedom of religion guaranteed. But usually meant only freedom of worship at certain times in certain places. Not freedom to decide what is right + wrong. "Poisonous weeds [must be] fought wherever they crop up" (Red book p.54 - "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", 1957, p.55-56, "10 Commandments of Communism" often quoted: (Russian Komintern principles)
 - i. "Never forget that the clergy is the most powerful enemy of the ^{Communist} State"
 - ii. "If you are not a convinced atheist you cannot be a good Communist or a real [Soviet] citizen."

B. But a measure of tolerance coupled with complete control.

- 1. Lunacharsky.
- 2. Catholics - all Catholics are enemies of the new social order. 1951 Patriotic movement
1954 Only 28 of 143 churches
1955 Main country of 143 churches

Protestants allowed to form a "3-Self Patriotic Movement" 1951

But only with painful, required "accusation meetings" Wang 22

T.C. Chao - denounced by own daughter

Wang Hui-Tao: condemned tho completely indep. - 22 yrs in prison

Father, lay before creation; Thou hast chosen us in love

And that love, so deep, so moving, draws us close to Xt alone

Still it keeps us, still it keeps us, firmly fixed in Xt alone
- Ann. p.9s

~~20th C. Missions~~ - As the 21st Century Draws Near -

Memphis
III.

The Challenge of ~~Success~~ Hope for the Future: ^{Lessons from} China + Korea.

~~When~~ ^{For the first two lectures of this series we} ~~my closing challenge~~ ^{is the challenge} ~~never to lose hope~~ ^{for the future.} We've faced the challenge of ~~the~~ tradition: the 19th c. in mission. ~~And the challenge of change - the changing face of the 20th c.~~ ^{Today I want to draw some lessons learned from 19th c. tradition of 20th c. change in mission in the 20th c.} What about the 21st century that ~~is~~ ^{is} in mission. It is coming fast. And I have suggested that there are many who think it will be the end of the world Christian mission who have given up hope for Christian mission in ~~an~~ a fast ~~secularizing~~ world which will either secularize religion out of its way, ~~and Christian mission with it~~; render Christian mission obsolete, or so pluralize ~~the world~~ and synthesize all religions into one vague mass of an undifferentiated ~~mix~~ continuum of all the faiths as to make Christian mission irrelevant and unnecessary.

Is there ~~any~~ ^{really} any hope for a ~~world~~ Christian mission in the future?

Well let me use something of the history of ~~two~~ Christianity in two countries, China and Korea, as reasonable grounds for ~~re-examining~~ ^{challenging} Christians ~~never~~ to lose hope for the future. China - the largest country in Asia - in the whole world for that matter. And Korea, one of the smaller Asiatic countries - and a divided country at that.

Let me begin with China. Let me begin with a quick review of missionary failure in China. When people come up to me after the tragedy of the failed student demonstration in Tiananmen Square, not so very long ago, and say, "There we go again. ^{Another failure.} ~~Half the student body~~ Most of the students in our seminars were at least supporting the demonstrators. ~~of them, some were in the square, in supporting it.~~ And we've failed again." I've been tempted to reply - But that's the history of Christianity in China. We've ~~often~~ ^{often} failed always failed. But God never fails. And sometimes, He seems to be saying to me, at least. When are you going to learn the lessons of human failure, that what seems failure to the world, is not always a failure in the sight of God. Was the cross a failure?

- go to p. 2 (yellow sheet)

KOREAN CHURCH GROWTH

2

understanding and growth in service are as important as growth in numbers, but one small paper cannot say everything.)

After nearly 2000 years of Christian expansion,

Latin America was	93.6%	Christian
North America	87.1%	
Europe	84.2%	
Oceania	83.9%	
Africa	45.4%	
U.S.S.R.	36.3%	
South Asia	7.8%	
East Asia	1.9%	

The category of measurement used in reaching these figures is "total adherents", so judging by even this most general of categories East Asia is less than 2% Christian.¹ Yet South Korea, according to the same Encyclopedia, was already five years earlier (1980) estimated to be 30.5% Christian. Comparable figures for the other two major components of the East Asia continental bloc were Japan 3% and mainland China 0.2% (2/10 of 1%).² We shall have to look more critically at the statistics shortly, but suffice it to say here that the fact of growth, phenomenal numerical Christian growth in Korea is not in dispute.

¹World Christian Encyclopedia, ed. D. Barrett. Oxford, 1982. pp. 782-785. (hereafter W.C.E.) The 1985 figure is extrapolated from a 1970, statistical base. It uses the category of religious "adherents" which is the most all-inclusive of religious measurement and includes "followers of all kinds - professing, affiliated, practicing, non-practicing, etc".

²Ibid., p. 441.

It is sometimes said, for example, that there are more Presbyterians in Korea than in the United States, and it may be true. The 1985 Korean Protestant Yearbook for South Korea cited above claims 6 1/2 million Korean Presbyterians.⁵ American Presbyterians usually report only about 4 million. But the former figure is almost certainly "adherents"é the American figure probably "communicants". The World Christian Encyclopedia recognizes the difference. It reports, for 1980, a total of 4,300,000 Korean adult Christians, but 10,145,000 "affiliated" (total recorded) Christians.⁶

Some prefer the generally lower figures of what they refer to as the "government census" of October 1, 1983.⁷ But these statistics also are flawed. The survey (it was not a census) was conducted by local government offices and was published by the Ministry of Culture and Information. It sampled people only over 18 years of age, and depended on information from their family registries, assigning the whole household to the family religion of the father.⁸ The results:⁹

Buddhists	7,507,000	(18.8% of country populationé.48% of "religious" population)
Protestants	5,337,000	(13.3% " " " é 34% " " ")
Catholics	1,591,000	(4.0% " " " é 10% " " ")
Confucianists	790,000	(2.0% " " " é 5% " " ")
Others	363,000	(0.9%
	TOTAL	39%
Total Christians	6,928,000	(17.3%)

⁵1985 Yonkam, p. 38.

⁶W.C.E., p. 444.

⁷See Adrian Buzo, "Secularism Blunts Christianity's Impact on South Korea". Wall Street Journal, August 20, 1984, p. 11. His title correctly identifies a trend. I question only the statistics.

⁸[Presbyterian] Newsletter (Seoul), February 29, 1984. (mimeographed).

⁹The detailed summaries by provinces are given in the 1985 Yonkam, p. 44, cited above. The population of Korea in 1983 was 39,660,000. An important missing factor in these statistics is the absence of estimates of the prevalence of shamanism in Korea. It may well still be the largest popular religious belief, but has no central organization and no statistics.

I cannot resist adding my own educated but fallible guess to the confusion. Assuming, in the rest of this paper that the correct figure is somewhere between the highest and lowest estimates. After a respectful glance at the above statistics, I will move toward high middle ground and conjecture that at the end of 1985 there may have been 10 1/2 million Christian adherents in South Korea, out of a population of about 41 million, or about 25.6

Protestant	8,000,000 (19.5%)
Roman Catholics	1,850,000 (4.5%)
Cults (semi-Christian)	<u>650,000 (1.6%)</u>
	10,500,000 (25.6%) ¹⁰

I am led to this fairly high figure by two recent by a Gallup Poll affiliate in Korea. The first, in 1982, questioned Koreans of all ages and found 29% professing Buddhism and 20% Christianity (Protestants 16% Catholics 4%).¹¹ The second, in 1983 surveyed Korean young people between 18 and 24 years of age and discovered that 30.4 "believed in Christianity" (Protestants 24.3%, Roman Catholics 6.1), while only 12.1% professed to follow Buddhism. This indicates an upward trend toward the Christian faith. These surveys, which are corroborated by other studies, strongly suggest a shocking decline of about one million Buddhists and an accelerating rise in the number of Christians, particularly among Korean young people in the those years from 1980-1983.¹²

¹⁰There may be fewer Protestants and more semi-Christian cultists, or vice versa. The line between becomes blurred at times. I include in "cults" both Mr. Moon's Unification Church and Elder Park's "Olive Tree Church".

¹¹See summary in Newsletter, Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, June 20, 1983.

¹²The same conclusion with slightly different figures is reached by W. Cameron Hurst, III in UFSI Reports (Hammer N.H.) 1983/No. 26, p. 6

But whether one chooses high, low or median estimates, there is no escaping the fact the Christianity has grown. When my father reached Seoul in 1890, there were between 10,000 and 17,000 Roman Catholics.¹³ Records for 1889 show only 74 communicant Protestants.¹⁴ Forty years later, when I was a boy in Korea in 1930, the number was 415,000 Christians or 2% of the population. When I returned in 1955 there were 1,117,000 or about 5%.¹⁵ Today there are over 10,000,000, or 23%. Very roughly that would mean one Korean in a thousand was Christian in 1890 (taking the lower estimate), one in 50 in the 1930s, one in 20 in 1955, and one in four today.

The largest single Methodist congregation in the world is in Seoul, Korea, with over 10,000 members. The largest Presbyterian congregation in the world is in Seoul, Korea, with about 60,000 members. The largest Pentecostal congregation in the world is in Seoul, Korea, claiming over 400,000 members. And there are said to be over 4,000 Protestant churches in Seoul.

Whether this rapid growth is good or bad is another matter. But there has been growth. The next question is why?

¹³ Joseph Chang-Mun Kim and John Jae-sun Chung, *Catholic Korea Yesterday and Now*. Seoul: 1964, pp. 231,295.

¹⁴ 53rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church USA, 1890, "Statistics of Korea Mission," p.137. "Added during theyear 39⁶: Present number of communicants 104", and The Gospel in All Lands (N.Y.C., Methodist Episcopal) vol. II, no. 1 (Jan. 1890), p. 420. "9 members, 36 probationers".

¹⁵ Figures compiled in my letter of November 1, 1980. Statistics after 1950 are limited to South Korea alone.

But Gifford's letter added some less theological and more geographical and anthropological conjectures about reasons for the growth. The people are different in the northeast, he suggested. The men there are bright, spirited, aggressive in Christian work and not dominated by a Confucian aristocracy to the same extent as farther south.

Roy Shearer's classic study, Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea, takes its title from Gifford's letter and uses it to call attention to the regional unevenness of Korean church growth.²⁰ Two earlier studies had already pointed out its chronological unevenness. A.W. Wasson in 1934 divided Southern Methodist growth into six irregular periods of alternating growth and decline.²¹ That same year, H.A. Rhodes' fiftieth anniversary Presbyterian statistics revealed a roughly parallel series of early rise, rapid growth, intermittent recessions and resumed growth.²²

²⁰ Shearer, op. cit. pp. 82-83 and passim. Note especially his revealing charts of Presbyterian communicant membership in different provinces from 1885 to 1930.

²¹ Wasson's six periods, based on figures for communicants and probationers combined, are: 1. Planting and early rise (1896-1905)
2. Rapid growth (1906-1910)
3. First serious decline (1911-1919)
4. Second rapid growth (1920-24)
5. Second decline (1925-28)
6. Upward trend (1929-30)
A.W. Wasson, Church Growth in Korea (New York: International Missionary Council, 1934) pp. 6-7.

²² Rhodes' statistics disclose the differences in growth patterns when the categories are more sharply drawn between total adherents, total communicants, total catechisms (probationers) and total baptized children. But his graph for total adherents also suggests six periods: (1) Early rise (1884-1894); (2) Rapid growth (1904-1909); (3) Checked growth and first decline (1909-1919); (4) Second rapid growth (1919-1924); (5) Second decline (1924-1929); (6) Third rapid growth (1929-1933). H.A. Rhodes, History of the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934 (Seoul: Chosen Presbyterian Mission, 1934) p. 563ff.

These studies focussed on the growth up to 1934. The trend since then has continued to spiral upwards, save for a third recession in the five war years (1940-45). In fact, despite considerable persecution during World War II, the total Christian community has almost doubled in every decade since 1940, tripling the prewar rate of growth from a 100% increase in thirty years to a 100% growth about every ten years.²³

But granted that the growth was uneven, what made the church grow or not grow in different places and at different times in Korea? Was it the grace of God, as Moffett acknowledged? Then how significant is the human factor which Gifford pointed out? Was the growth due more to regional differences, or to changing times? Wise mission methods or Korean leadership? Personal evangelism, revivals and conservative theology, or radical protest and social service, Christian truth or cultural environment? All these factors have been persuasively put forth at one time or another as the basic secret of the spread of Korean Christianity, yet no simple explanation quite satisfies.

Theological and missiological factors
 Consider first some of the ^{theological} ~~religious~~ and ecclesiastical reasons Christians advance to explain the "church growth explosion" in Korea, noting also the questions raised by every explanation.

Suppose we argue, as many missionaries including myself have done, that the Great Korean Revival that swept through the peninsula from 1903 or 1904 to 1908 was a primary reason for church growth.²⁴

²³The statistics are based on figures of 40,000 to 130,575 Roman Catholics in 1908 and 1940, and 120,000 to 220,000 Protestants in 1910 and 1940, from Charles Iglehart, "Korea" in The 20th Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (Schall-Herzog, 1955); and unpublished statistics I collected in 1975 for the World Christian Encyclopedia (Oxford, 1982), and updated in a 1980 letter.

²⁴Samuel Hugh Moffett, The Christians of Korea (N.Y.: Friendship Press, 1962) pp. 52-54. A more thorough study is Hazel T. Watson's "Revival and Church Growth in Korea", M.A. Thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1969.

In the five years of the revival, membership of Protestant churches increased four-fold.²⁵ But did not the rapid growth begin in 1894, not 1903? Shearer is persuasive on this point. The revival he wrote, peaked in 1907 and "sat in the center of a period of amazing church growth...[it] was not the cause of it".²⁶ But the revival did make its impact. It accelerated and cleansed the growth.

Many observers have credited the remarkable rise of Christianity in Korea to another factor, the missionary policies of the Protestant missionary pioneers. As early as 1890 the northern Presbyterian mission (U.S.A.) adopted what is called "the Nevius method", named for a China missionary, a Princeton seminary graduate of the class of 1850 who in turn derived from Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson the famous "three-self principles" of a mission strategy. It stressed a quick transition from mission leadership to self-government in the national churches, self-support and self-propagation. To these original emphases on ecclesiastical independence, lay evangelism and self-reliant financial responsibility, the Korea missionaries added a strong foundational program of Bible study through systematic winter and summer Bible classes, not just for the leadership but for all believers. This in turn led to a widespread literacy campaign in the churches to ensure that all Christians could read the Bible.

²⁵Wasson's table of Methodist and Presbyterian membership (communicants and probationers) lists 23,700 in 1903-04 and 91,912 in 1908-09. op. cit., p. 166. Most Protestants at that time belonged to those two denominations.

²⁶Shearer, op. cit., p. 56.

But whatever defects the method may have had, the one denomination that officially adopted the plan is the one which can now claim as adherents two-thirds of all the Protestants in Korea.³⁰

³⁰This is based on the latest and most optimistic of current reports of church membership. The figures are higher than the average of recent estimates, and are found in the 1985 Miju Manin...Yonkam (1985 Christian Annual) p. 38. (See the word of caution above, p. 3). It lists total claimed adherents of Protestant denominations (excluding semi-Christian cults), as follows:

Presbyterians (32 bodies)	67%	of all Protestants,	6,518,563	adherents
Methodists (4 bodies)	10.3%	" " " "	, 1,007,737	"
Pentecostals (7)	8.1%	" " " "	, 793,187	"
Evangelical/Holiness (3)	6.5%	" " " "	, 635,364	"
Baptist (4)	5.2%	" " " "	, 505,300	"
Salvation Army (1)	0.9%	" " " "	, 90,700	"
Nazarene (1)	0.8%	" " " "	, 77,100	"
Anglican (1)	0.5%	" " " "	, 47,200	"
Lutheran (1)	.05%	" " " "	, 5,268	"
Other (6)	0.6%	" " " "	, 56,000	"

All due credit should be given to the wise but fallible Protestant pioneers and their Nevius Plan, but Korean church history reminds us that, as one missionary put it, "The Koreans have always been one step ahead of the missionary"³¹ In Korea, as in few other parts of the world, the first to bring the prohibited Christian faith into the country were insiders not outsiders, Koreans not missionaries.

For the Catholics, in 1784, it was Yi Sung-Hun, a Korean Confucian scholar, 27 years old, who went to China for books on science and mathematics from Europeans at the Chinese capital, and came back the same year, converted and baptized, with the books he sought, but also with a determination to start a church. Within five years he had a community of a thousand. The reasons suggested for such rapid growth in a closed land are interesting. The Catholic historian, Father Andreas Choi gives four: the open hospitality of the Korean sarang (visitors' room), Korean love of conversation, their intense curiosity about the outside world, and prior information about the new religion through Christian literature brought from China.³² This all started ten years before the first foreign missionary, a Chinese, was able to enter forbidden Korea.³³

³¹ Archibald Campbell

³² Andreas Choi, L'erection du premier Vicariat apostolique et les origines du Catholicisme en Coree, 1592-1837 (Schoneck-Beckenried, Switzerland: Nouvelle Revue de Sciences Missionaires, 1961) pp. 17-38, esp. 25, 33. He might have added a fifth reason: opportunity for independence and initiative. The hierarchy was far away in Peking, and the eager Korean converts, innocently ignorant of church tradition proceeded to elect their own priests, administer all the sacraments including the mass, and choose their day of worship by the lunar calendar, which therefore did not often fall on Sunday.

³³ In 1593 a Jesuit priest, Gregorio de Cespedes had entered Korea for two short months but not as a missionary to Korea. He was a chaplain with invading Japanese troops, and so far as is known spoke to no Koreans. (Ibid., p. 5)

So also with the Protestants. A Korean ginseng merchant, So Sang-Yun, converted by Scottish missionaries in Manchuria, brought back into Korea gospel positions he had helped them translate into the Korean phonetic. He returned to his home village and a whole year before the arrival of the first Protestant foreign missionary in 1884 had formed a Christian fellowship in his home village.³⁴ This was self-aupport, self-government and self-propagation before there was any Nevius Plan in Korea.

A corollary to this is that when the Protestant foreign missionaries did come, they came without the stigma of western colonialism adding to the burden of their foreignness, for in Korean history colonialism has been Asiatic and Japanese not western. Since the later years of the 19thc. Korean attitudes to the introduction of Christianity have been markedly friendlier than in most of Asia and Africa. The introduction was by Koreans, and the missionaries were not conquerors.

³⁴ Lak-Geon George Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, revised 2nd ed. (Seoul: Yonsei Univ., 1971) pp. 52, 54, 138-139.
 KMF
~~Journal of the Korean Christian Field~~, vol. 5, no. 5 (May 1967) p. 12

Non-Theological Factors: cultural, religious, political.

Not all the factors contributing to church growth have been ecclesiastical or theological or the consequence of mission policies and practice. Secular and non-theological elements have often furthered the progress of the gospel. This was particularly true in the history of Protestantism.

Protestant Christianity came to Korea at a time of total breakdown in the social, political and religious life of the nation. The 500-year-old Yi dynasty (1392-1910) was tottering to its fall and Korea was slowly but inexorably losing its independence to the rising empire of Japan. In the process Confucianism, as the official faith and social foundation of the doomed dynasty, was becoming discredited. Buddhism had been declining even longer. It had lost its hold on the nation in the fall of an older dynasty which was Buddhist (the Koryo dynasty, 918-1392). The traditions of centuries were falling in clusters. Set adrift from the old landmarks and numbed by despair, many Koreans not surprisingly turned with hope to the new, self-confident faith of the Christians.

In this time of weakening religious faith,³⁵ and loss of national identity, when Christians spoke of their religion as "glad tidings" (pokum) many were eager to hear more. They were told of a God above all gods, named Hananim (or Hanunim) which sounded familiar and

³⁵ Not a complete vacuum, of course. Even in decline the old faiths continued to be a powerful force. Confucianist still dominated the social fabric and shamanism the religious mind. Both were increasingly displaced by Christianity but not without in turn influencing it. See Ryu Tong-Sik, Hanguk Jongkyo wa Kidokkyo (Korean Re-

comfortably Korean. With a rare sensitivity for cultural contextualization the missionaries and their Korean colleagues had decided to call the God of the Bible by the name of an almost forgotten and no longer widely worshipped god of a very old Korean tradition. Depending on how it was spelled or pronounced, it literally meant "the One", or "Heaven".³⁶ As for the Bible, they deliberately chose to put it not into the difficult Chinese characters loved by the intellectual elite but into the simple, authentically Korean phonetic (hangul) which, though invented by a 15th century Korean king, had for centuries been dismissed by Confucian scholars as fit only for women and children.

Thus Protestant Christianity seemed to the people to come not so much as the denial of all things Korean but as an ally in recovering forgotten or long-disused treasures of the old traditions. Even non-Christians came eventually to recognize unanticipated benefits of the impact of Christianity upon Korean society. In a turbulent transitional period it helped to form bonds of social and intellectual unity ~~even~~ while the nation's political integrity was dissolving.³⁷

³⁶ See S.A. Moffett, letters (Seoul, Nov. 1, 1893 and Pyengyang, Apr. 14, 1894); W.M. Baird, letter (Fusan, Nov. 21, 1893); H.G. Underwood, letter (Seoul, Feb. 9, 1894); Mrs. H.G. Underwood (Seoul, May 28, 1894 and Aug. 16, 1894); S.F. Moore (Seoul, Oct. 29, 1894). All the above are summarized in Korea Letters, op. cit. Hananim was the name also adopted by the new indigenous Korean religion, Ch'ondokyo, for its "Lord of Heaven". See Wanne J. Joe, Traditional Korea: A Cultural History (Seoul: Chung'ang Univ. Press, 1972) pp. 416 ff.

³⁷ "The translation of the Scriptures into Korean has given to this people a new vocabulary--not foreign but reborn... It has given to the simple-minded peasant the vocabulary of the scholar and prophet. It has brought the classes near together by making a common speech for them all. It has formed the basis upon which a general and universal education can be reared." Korea Mission Field (Seoul, vol. 5, no. 5; May, 1909), p. 82, a year before annexation by Japan.

The relation of Christianity to the old religions was not so accommodating. On the surface Christians rigorously and forthrightly rejected them all as pagan. But they were not so inflexible as to forbid accommodation wherever it could be theologically justified, and as actually practiced, this uneasy tension between condemnation and adaptation promoted growth. The insistence on separation demanded decision and gave to the new faith the authority of total commitment. Accommodation provided bridges for more comfortable passage from the old to the new. Some indeed attributed the success of Christianity to its becoming too much like the old religions, not too much opposed to them. Like Confucianism Christianity taught righteousness and revered learning; like Buddhism it sought purity and promised a future life; and like shamanism it accepted without secular doubts a world of spirits beyond the world of matter. More critical observers accused it of being as authoritarian as Confucianism, and as superstitious as Buddhists or shamanists.³⁸

Christians did indeed respect learning. Education became a part of the church's plans for expansion as early as 1884, when R.S. McClay, Methodist superintendent of the Japan Mission against all odds persuaded the isolationist Korean court to grant permission for the opening of a school.³⁹ The first Christian school was opened by Appenzeller in 1886.

³⁸G. Cameron Hurst III (*op.cit.*, p. 10, n. 19) cites David Kwang-Sun Suh's description: "Korean Protestantism has almost been reduced to a Christianized mudang religion". Less exaggerated is the analysis of Prof. Son Bong-Ho, chairman of the philosophy department of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, who pinpoints the primary dangers of "shamanizing Christianity" as obsession with success and the pursuit of "blessings". ("Some Dangers of Rapid Growth", in Korean Church Growth Explosion, ed. by Ro Bong-Rin and Marlin L. Nelson, Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1983, pp. 337-339).

³⁹Charles Sauer, ed., Within the Gate (Seoul: Methodist News Service, 1934) p. 3, 7 ff.

It is with no pride that I list church division among the causes of church growth. I would prefer to think that Christianity has grown in Korea in spite of the bitterness of its fractures. But there are too many depressingly discernible instances of correlation between division and growth, fission and energy. Presbyterians, for example, are by far the largest Protestant community, and also the most divided. (See the chart on p. 12). They are split into 32 different denominations, five large ones and 27 splinter groups. There are four divisions in Methodism, seven among Pentecostals, four among Baptists.

Some say Korean Christians grow faster the less ecumenical they are. I would disagree, but must admit to some truth in the observation. The Korean National Council of Churches, originally representative of all but a small fraction of Korea's Protestants, today represents only about a third. In Korea when churches split, in an amazingly short time each side of the schism seems to be as large or larger than the sum total of the united body before division.

In much the same puzzling way opposition by governments has both hindered and fostered church growth. Persecution of Christians in the northwest under the local Yi dynasty magistrates preceded the first explosion of church growth in 1894.⁴¹ Later, the ordeals and persecutions of the Japanese period slowed, but would not stop the growth. When persecution is intense and prolonged it can for a time wipe out the organized ecclesiastical structure as it has in North Korea since 1945. Two-thirds of the Christians of Korea were once in the north,

⁴¹ Jong-Hyeong Lee, "Converting Harrassments into Opportunities", in his dissertation, op. cit., p. 83-93.

but there are now no regularly-meeting, organized congregations left, though reports persist of possible changes already taking place.⁴²

In the Japanese period, however, oppression only strengthened the fiber of the church and laid the groundwork for future growth. Christians were the backbone of the great, non-violent Korean demonstrations of 1919 and were brutally repressed. Again in the years before World War II Christians fought against compromise with Japanese-imposed worship at Shinto shrines and were persecuted for their resistance. Ultimately, however, these incidents only served to identify the church in the popular mind with national patriotism and anti-colonialism. ^{This} They help^s to explain the enormous popularity of Christianity after the war.

In a somewhat similar fashion, the current widespread involvement of Christians in movements for human rights and labor reforms and democratic freedom have again won the respect of significant non-Christian elements of the population, particularly in the universities. Undoubtedly this accounts for a part of a strong rise in the number of young people who now identify themselves as "believing in Christianity", a higher percentage than among older people, as noted above (p. 5).

But this argument cannot be carried too far. There is a considerable difference in the popular appeal of the protest in 1919 against a foreign, colonializing military power, and the anti-government demonstrations of students today against their own government. Observers

⁴² Foreign Mission News (Richmond, Va.: S. Baptist Mission Board, Oct. 31, 1985. A government-approved Korean Christian Federation claimed to represent a total of 5000 Christians in the North Korean population of 20 million. Also reported were 15 ordained pastors, a three-year seminary course, a new translation of the New Testament, and some 70 home meeting places.

admit that the portion of Korea's Christians who seem to be actively involved in the current protests are comparatively small, even when a Catholic cardinal and the National Council of Churches support the protests.

One other fact suggests caution in placing too much emphasis on the link between nationalism, politics and church growth. If participation in the national independence movement of 1919 was so much a factor in the growth of Christianity, why has Chundokyo, the indigenous Korean religion which in some respects was even more actively responsible for the 1919 demonstrations than Christianity, virtually disappeared from the religious charts? Both were highly visible and equally active and probably about even numerically in 1919. Both won the gratitude and admiration of the people for their patriotism and courage. But today a government survey reveals that there are more than 100 Christians to every follower of Chundokyo in Korea.⁴³

What, then, made Korean Christianity grow? All the above, of course. And in a deeper sense, none of the above. Even the most secular of historians must admit at times to the mystery in history, and the church historian, mindful that the more decisive areas of Christian growth are beyond the reach of statistics, finds himself at the end of a paper like this quoting scripture: "I [Paul] planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth." (I Cor. 3:6).

Samuel Hugh Moffett
Princeton, New Jersey
April 1, 1986

⁴³1985 Yonkam, op. cit., p. 43.

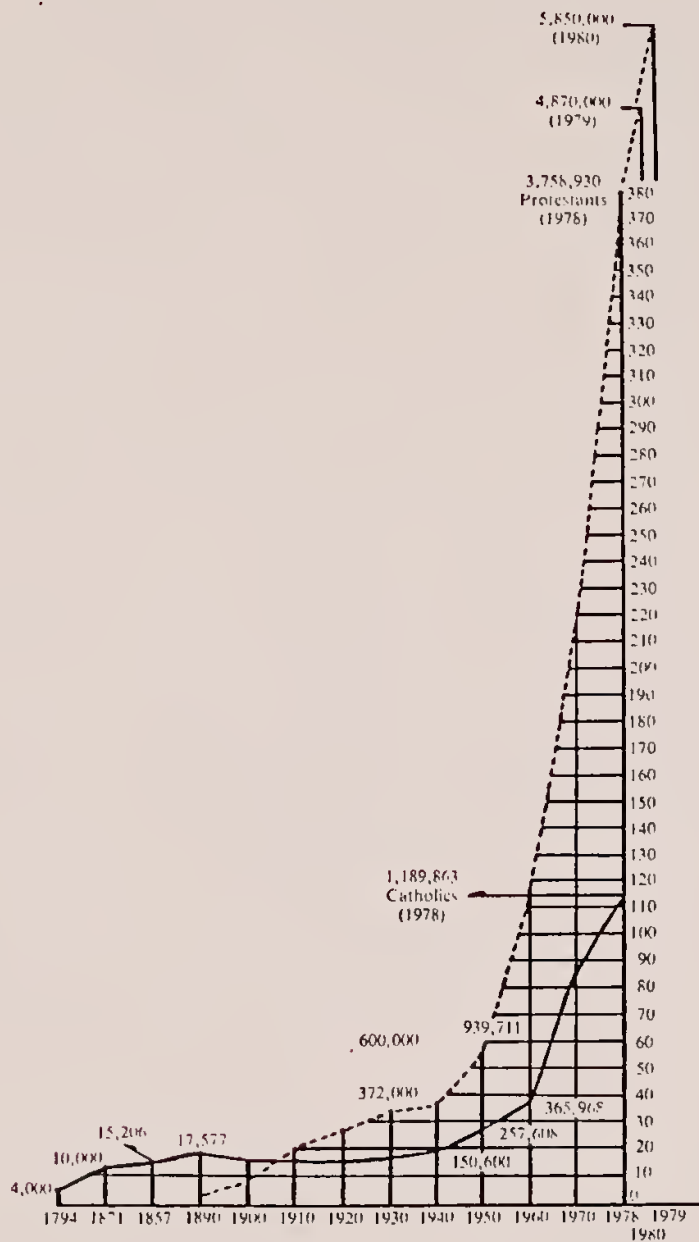
CHART ITHE DEVELOPMENT OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC CHURCH FROM 1976 TO 1981*

Office Year	MEMBER		CHURCH		MINISTER	
	Protest.	Catholic	Protest.	Catholic	Protest.	Catholic
1976	4,658,700	1,052,691	17,846	2,265	21,948	3,921
1977	5,001,491	1,093,829	19,457	2,308	23,526	4,130
1978	5,293,844	1,144,224	20,109	2,339	25,708	4,303
1979	5,986,609	1,189,863	21,205	2,332	27,721	4,339
1980	7,180,627	1,321,293	21,243	2,342	31,740	4,529
1981	7,637,010	1,439,778	23,346	2,353	33,851	4,797

* The Korean Minister of Culture & Publication. *Statistics of current religious groups*.
January 1, 1982.

CHART IV

THE KOREAN CHURCH POPULATION AND TRENDS OF GROWTH*



* Byong-Suh Kim. "The explosive growth of the Korean Church Today" *International Review of Mission* 74 (1985), p.61.

II. The Structural Challenge.

It may seem anticlimactic to turn from the high reaches of the church's missionary theology - its very reasons for attempting to do mission at all - and descend to the undramatic challenge

of the organizational structure of mission. ^{Remember Koenig's statement - 'church consciousness is far more essential than church organization' (World Culture: World Religion, 1960)} ~~Challenge~~ But mission

without structure is like ^{trying to sail} ~~playing~~ baseball without a ^{boat} ~~base~~. You'll never get to the beach, ^{which is one of my criticisms of so much talk of "doing theology", as if that meant doing it without thinking about it.} ~~get to the first base.~~

^{the problem is} ~~But there is a problem.~~ ^{how do you decide what to do; and how do you do it. Alone? And if not alone,} What kind of a structure is best

for Christian mission. Some say the ^{organized, institutional} church - the Presbyterian Church, is the structure of a ~~mission~~. ^{or "parish" organizations, like} Others say, ^{as we do need} free and voluntary mission societies, ^{which is right?}

the ^{Church World Service} Church World Service, which is right?

II. Structural Challenge ①

CHURCH AND PARACHURCH

There is nothing new about ^{this problem, the} tensions between church and parachurch agencies. Some prefer to phrase this as the difference between missionary churches (that is, the whole church as God's instrument for mission) and voluntary societies for particular missions, or between denominational sub-structures and independent Christian organizations. We will try to define the terms later, but first a quick look at history. For "The real essence of the real Church", as Hans Kung writes, "is expressed in historical form." (The Church, p.5).

A History of Tensions.

The tug-of-war between institutional loyalties and functional freedom of action is as old as Paul's encounter with Peter in Antioch, [and as contemporary as a Protestant schism.] In the first century the issue arose as a question of relationship between recognized ecclesiastical authority (the twelve) and a highly personalized, but amazingly effective mission (Paul's) which brought forth ^{his Paul's} the eloquent defense of ^{a mission on a new frontier: mission} his ministry to the Gentiles. He ^{accepted} recognized the imperatives of a church connection, commissioning from the congregation in Antioch, ^{And} ^{he sought} and later, the approval of the leaders in Jerusalem. But when Paul's own authority was questioned, he based the validity of his ~~call~~ and mission not on the mandate of any church in Antioch, ^{not} or even the sanction of the apostles in Jerusalem, but on the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Only in the assurance of a commissioning beyond the power of any ^{ecclesiastical church} human organization to give could he be so bold as to "oppose [Peter] to his face". (Gal. 1 and 2).

In seventh century England the tension between independent and church-centered outreach brought Celtic and Roman missions into head-on collision. The former were far more successful in converting Scotland and

England, but the latter triumphed in organizing the church. It was the Irish monks, singularly unfettered by ^{diocesan} episcopal controls, who largely Christianized the English kingdoms, but it was a bishop from Rome, Wilfred of York, who outmaneuvered them at Whitby in 663/4. ¹

A different, but not altogether dissimilar conflict of functional urgencies and organizational connections in the ninth century kept Cyril and Methodius dangling in mid-orbit between Constantinople and Rome as those two powerful churches fought for control of the brothers' successful mission to the Slavs. The missionaries, however, were more interested in keeping the project indigenously Slavic than in the issue of with what church it should have its connection. ²

Costume later
After a thousand years of ^{missionary} trial and error ^{the Catholic church} Rome at last faced the fact that church structures and mission structures might need differing institutional forms and a flexible relationship. Beginning with the Franciscans and Dominicans in the thirteenth century and the Jesuits in the sixteenth, the Pope began to grant autonomy from lesser ecclesiastical authority than his own to a whole multitude of missionary orders (voluntary societies for mission). Freed from jealous ecclesiastical controls, these missionary societies exploded in outreach across the world far beyond the borders of Christendom. The pattern of the Roman Catholic orders was not without its own problems. At one unforgettable point in church history the Pope dissolved the entire Jesuit Society. But it has served admirably as a missionary model to this day.

³ *Protestants did not do so well. They failed to develop ^{such} missionary orders or societies. All they had was churches. Had Luther not reacted against the missionary orders, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, ^{The result was what in their} as in his preface to Alber's "The Fools' Mirror."* ³ the first two hundred and fifty years ^{were} of Protestantism might not have been so astonishingly sterile in missionary outreach. Without a

structure for missionary outreach ^{paralleled the club, and at least semi-autonomous,} comparable to the ^{Catholic} orders, Protestantism, ^{for the most part,} turned in upon itself, ^{It became} as a church in mission among the churched, and left ^{unreached} the world to the ~~untiring friars,~~ and the Jesuits. It is significant that when the Lutheran monarch Frederick IV of Denmark looked about for his first foreign missionaries in 1706, he went not to the organized church but to the independent Pietists, and official Lutheranism thundered against the folly of a mission to savages. The voluntary mission society, supported by no single church body, remained the dominant German pattern up into the 1950's.

Anglicans, less anti-Catholic and more pragmatic than Luther, proved more flexible than the Continental Lutheran and Reformed churches. They eventually allowed two different missionary societies within their one church, the older Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the more establishment-minded and a new Church Missionary Society for the more independent "evangelicals".

Max Warren's article, "Why Missionary Societies and Not Missionary Churches?" ⁴ is a beautifully even-tempered defense of such plurality of mission structures within the unity of the church:

"To imagine the religious societies of the eighteenth century as being in some way 'in opposition' to the Church, (or even to envisage them in apposition,) as being over against the Church is to do despite to the Holy Spirit of God and to his working in history. It is a wrong interpretation of the facts...No, official leadership does not by itself constitute the Church. Nor is the central administration of a denomination the Church" (italics his).

Americans were even more innovative. Instead of one church with two missionary societies, they formed one missionary society for two still separated churches, Congregationalist and Presbyterian, and for any others which might wish to cooperate. The famous American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, organized in 1810 after the pattern of the London Missionary Society, became the missionary agency for both denominations. ^{and their support is... it was independent from both.} On

both sides of the Atlantic this type of parachurch structure of the voluntary mission societies became the dominant form of 19th century Protestant overseas missions. ⁵

But as early as 1837 American Presbyterians began to have second thoughts about independency in mission. A year later the Presbyterian General Assembly tore itself in half over the issue of whether Presbyterian missions could properly be entrusted to an independent agency not under the direct control of the church. Its liberal wing remained loyal to the parachurch society and was drummed out of the church. The conservative wing, remaining in the church, separated itself from the highly successful voluntary society for missions, and formed an equally successful

denominational Board of Foreign Missions. ⁶ ^{But} By the end of the ^{19th} century mainline church agencies, denominationally controlled, ^{were born} became the ascendant organizational form of missions.

The twentieth century brought an ironic switch. Just as the denominationally controlled mainline mission boards were proving their ability to plant flourishing younger churches around the world, the 1930s saw an abrupt reversal of the trend, particularly in North America. In 1837 it had been the liberals who championed the parachurch approach to mission. Around the year 1937 in ever increasing numbers it was the conservatives who broke away from the denominations to form what by then were being called "faith missions". A related development was the emergence of independent denominations with a strong focus on missions. By 1960 the "center of gravity of Protestant mission-sending agencies" had shifted sharply away from the mainline agencies towards parachurch missions and independent denominations. Today the imbalance is overwhelming. ⁷ It has been estimated that as much as 90% of the full-time North American missionary force operates

outside the ecumenical church orbit. ⁸ It is no wonder that tensions have developed.

Definitions Without Agreement.

But the time has come to turn reluctantly from history to the harder task of groping for definitions. ^{But} Parallels from history must be treated with caution. It is easy to jump too quickly from resemblances of form and function to assumptions of identity, ~~of being~~. In the New Testament, for example, the apostles in Jerusalem were not a National Council of Churches, nor was Paul working for Campus Crusade.

The heart of the problem centers around the definition of the church, as Warren suggests in the paragraph quoted above. If no agreement can be reached on so basic a definition as that, discussion of relationships between church and parachurch will always end in frustration. Unfortunately, "church" is one of the most imprecise words in the Christian lexicon, and to add the prefix "para" to it only makes it fuzzier.

What is a church? Here is where the ambiguities begin. Witness the confusion, both legal and ecclesiastical, between a church, a confessional body, a denomination, a congregation, a sect and a cult. And what is a parachurch? A voluntary society, a service agency, an electronic television program, a seminary chapel, a denominational mission agency, a faith mission, a task force? The list could go on and on.

Not every true believer is content with Calvin's classic definition of the "marks" of the church: faithful preaching and hearing of the Gospel and administration of the sacraments as instituted by Christ. ⁹ However much one may be biased in Calvin's favor, as is the present writer, it is difficult, once one starts to list the marks of the true church, to stop with two, or to find agreement that those two, as any particular church defines

them, are indispensable. The Salvation Army, which was originally parachurch, is now as much or more truly a church, though without the traditional sacraments, as some churches with sacraments but without Christian service to the poor, or others which have the sacraments but have lost their moral and theological discipline. Calvin, himself, often added a third "mark", discipline, which refers not only to the church's authority but to its moral, ethical and social dimensions. 10

Calvin at least was right in willingness to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, and in his emphatic warnings against both schismatic temper on the one hand, which is the besetting sin of the para-church, and ecclesiastical arrogance on the other hand, which is an endemic fault in the churches. The latter he rejected as "monarchy among ministers", citing Paul's claim to equality with the twelve. 11

Does this suggest that ultimately there is no difference between church and parachurch? Not quite, but it does raise questions. Is the church a worshipping fellowship of believers? So are many parachurch organizations. Is the parachurch a service agency? So are some churches. Is the church where the Word of God is faithfully preached? Independent missions do that. So do seminaries. *Or where the sacraments are properly administered? The Salvation Army doesn't have the sacraments, but it is a church.*

Long before Calvin, Ignatius of Antioch, bishop of the church which less than sixty years earlier had sent Paul on his first missionary journey, left us a memorable one-line definition of the church. He was a strong defender of the power of bishops, but in a letter on his way to martyrdom in Rome about 107 A.D., he returned to basics. "Where Jesus Christ is, there is the Church", he said simply. (Ad Smyrn.,8) There is an echo of the same sentiment in Irenaeus a generation later. "Where the Church is, there also is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and

every grace." (Adv. Haer., iii, 24, 1) It was an age closer to the apostles than ours, and perhaps truer to the apostolic concept of the church. Who will deny to parachurch agencies the presence and power of Christ and His Spirit? Then what is the real difference between church and parachurch?

Some say that the difference lies in the fact that the church is the whole Body of Christ whereas parachurch agencies are never more than incomplete parts. But what Church today claims to be the whole Body? There is only one Head, Christ. All the other parts are precisely that--parts--the parachurches no less parts of the one Body than the churches, each member of the Body no less interdependent than all the other members. This puts church/parachurch tensions in a different, less pejorative perspective. It is unfortunately true that there is as much organizational tension between the churches themselves as between church and parachurch and one is no more reprehensible than the other.

Others say that the difference is a matter of recognition and acceptance by some higher authority. If so, by what authority? The word "church" derives from the Greek kuriakon and simply means "that which belongs to the Lord". This could apply equally well to church or parachurch. Paul's favorite word for the church, ekklesia, from which the English language derives the word "ecclesiastic", means "a community" or "a called gathering", and Paul is never tired of pointing out that the calling is from God, not from any human source. Were not the Protestant denominations themselves non-churches or worse yet, anti-churches to some Catholics before Vatican II? But what Protestant denomination would accept the label "parachurch" as if its churchness were of an inferior order? To strict anabaptists is not any church organization beyond the worshipping congregation a parachurch? But what presbytery considers itself to be a lower governing body than a

congregation? On a larger scale, is not the W.C.C. a parachurch agency? Yet in a strange reversal of roles, membership in such a parachurch organization is considered by some to be the authentication of a church.

Pathways to Co-operation.

Despite all the ambiguities, however, there does remain a feeling of difference between church and parachurch. But if history leaves us with tensions, and if definitions, even with the guidance of Scripture, lead to no Christian consensus, how do Christians deal with the difference? One helpful approach to an analysis is Ralph Winter's "warp and woof" analogy in a series of pathfinding articles on "The Two Structures of Mission".¹² In them he borrows terms from the social sciences and describes a church as a modality and a parachurch agency as a sodality. He uses modality to define the general, formal, inclusive structure of a church as embracing all the Christians within it, young or old, male or female, clergy or laity, irrespective of their differing functions. It is a "full community", charged with declaring and doing the whole counsel of God. Sodalities, however, are voluntary functional groups, organized for a special task or purpose, which "do not by themselves constitute a self-perpetuating community". Since they do not pretend to be "the full community", they can serve several communities, cutting across the lines of church modalities. Such would be a missionary order like the Jesuits, within the papal modality but transcending diocesan episcopal modalities; or in Protestantism, like interdenominational missionary societies such as the early American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, serving both Congregationalism and Presbyterianism.

Winter's irenic thesis is that the church needs both modalities and sodalities, as woven cloth needs both a warp and a woof. But he admits that even this analysis does not clear away the ambiguities. Sodalities merge

⑨

into modalities as specialized voluntary societies sometimes become denominations. And churches, particularly first-generation churches look and act like sodalities. In fact, humanly speaking, the whole church on earth is a voluntary society.

→ One
Another extremely valuable survey of the problem is a handbook on church/parachurch relations prepared by the Lausanne Committee, Co-operating in World Evangelization. ¹³ Its identification and description of five major areas of friction is particularly helpful: 1) "dogmatism about non-essentials", 2) "the threat of conflicting authorities", 3) "strained relationships", 4) "rivalry between ministries", and 5) "suspicion about finances". The handbook analyzes each area of tension in some detail, with a careful balance of church and parachurch perspectives. Better than that, it goes on to suggest approaches to mutual understanding and cooperation. ^{for example,} "When two groups (one church, one parachurch) want the same people, the same programmes, the same dollars and the same authority, a clash is inevitable and both ministries suffer." No one organizational pattern of relationship will solve all the tensions, but cooperation is absolutely imperative, and on the parachurch side, the Committee was "largely in agreement with a statement by John Stott that "independence of the church is bad, cooperation with the church is better, service as an arm of the church is best".

A similar study of the issues should be undertaken by the churches. Much thinking remains to be done about the doctrine of the church. A better definition of ecumenics is needed than inter-church relations. Until the churches take parachurch ministries more seriously, they will continue to spin in their own circles while growth passes them by. There was a time when National Christian Councils included delegated, voting representation from interdenominational and independent agencies. Then they became National

to the denominations

Councils of Churches and with the narrowing of the base ^A came a limiting of vision and a diminishing of mission. Perhaps the church needs both Christian Councils and Councils of Churches, with the two in constant conversation and interaction, one focussed on outreach, the other on relationships.

None of the above ways of approaching the tensions between church and parachurch will bring in the millennium when "the lion shall lie down with the lamb". Lambs are not even lying down with lambs at present; they are all acting like lions. But there are ways of reducing the tension.

In the absence of a final solution, may I close with a few guidelines for consideration. The Far East would call them proverbs. Like the laws of grace in the Bible which are neither all grace nor entirely law, proverbs seek a balance of wisdom open to seemingly contradictory facts. These will not dispel the tensions, but they may help Christians deal with them. Each law has two parts, one speaks to the church, the other to the parachurch.

First: "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". (That ^{is a warning} is for the church). But freedom also corrupts, and absolute freedom corrupts absolutely. (That is for the parachurch). This is the law of original sin.

Second: Churches don't grow; their parts grow. But only the relation of the parts to the whole prevents growth from becoming deformity. This is the law of the body and the cells.

Third: "Let the Church be the Church", and a parachurch a parachurch. When the church thinks everything it does is "mission" it is thinking like a parachurch. When a parachurch thinks it must do everything it is acting like a church. This is the law of defined responsibility.

But the best law is the law of love.
And finally, ^A "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of

angels...; and..have all faith so that I can remove mountains..And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor...and have not love, it profits me nothing." This is the law of love. It cannot be divided into two parts. Like the Spirit who gives it, it holds the parts together, *church and parochia do, by the gas and, in our own common working together for Christ and his Kingdom.*

--Samuel Hugh Moffett

Princeton, New Jersey

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January 23, 1984

Footnotes

1. John T. McNeill, The Celtic Churches, (Chicago: U. of Chicago: 1974), pp. 102-115, 155-175.
2. Francil Dvornik, Byzantine Mission Among the Slavs, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers U., 1970), pp. 131-193.
3. Erasmus Alber, Der Barfussermonche Eulenspiegel und Alcoran, (Wittenberg, 1542), a collection of 40 "conformities" between St. Francis and Christ, borrowed from Bartholomew of Pisa. I am indebted to my colleague Prof. K. Froehlich, for this citation.
4. Max Warren, in The Student World, vol. 53, no. 1-2 (1960), pp. 153 f.
5. K. S. Latourette, History of the Expansion of Christianity, vol. IV, (N.Y. & London: Harper, 1941), pp. 81-109. "It was by popular, voluntary movements and organizations that Christianity spread". (p. 109)
6. This was the Old School/New School schism. See "The United Presbyterian Church in Mission", in Journal of Presbyterian History, vol. 57, no. 3 (Fall, 1979), pp. 191 ff.
7. David M. Stowe, in 12th Edition. Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Missionaries Overseas, ed. by S. Wilson, (Monrovia CA: MARC, 1979), p. 9ff.
8. S. Wilson, ed., ibid., p. 22

9. Calvin, Institutes, IV. i.9. Cf. Augsburg Confession, art. vii.
10. Bucer, the Scots Confession and the Belgic Confession make discipline the third "mark" more explicitly than Calvin. See F.L. Battle's translation of the Institutes, p. 1023, n. 18, in The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 21 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1941).
11. Calvin, IV. vi. 9.
12. Ralph Winter, as in Winter and S. Hawthorne, Perspectives on the World Christian Movement, (Pasadena: Wm. Carey, 1981), pp. 178-190; and in "Protestant Mission Societies: The American Experience", Missiology, vol. 7, no. 2 (April, 1979), pp. 139-178.
13. Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, Co-operating in World Evangelization: A Handbook on Church/Parachurch Relationships. Lausanne Occasional Papers, No. 24. (Wheaton and London: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 1983). Quotations are from pp. 23, 49, 13, and 34.

SOME LESSONS FROM HISTORY FOR MISSIONS
Samuel H. Moffett (Ventnor, Jan. 3, 1983)

Lesson I. ROME: The Fall of a Christian Empire is Not the End of Christian Mission.

Augustine, Jerome, Orosius
Columson of Fedilmidh, Willibrord, Willibald, Ansgar
But it is dangerous for a Church to become too much a part of its imperial environment.

Lesson II. PERSIA: The Fall of a Pagan Empire is No Help to Christian Missions.

It is as dangerous for a Church to be against its cultural environment as to be too much part of it.
Seleucia-Mtesiphon and the Christian ghetto.
Islam and the Christian church--the melet.
Discriminatory punishments
Social humiliations
Financial pressures
Prohibition of evangelism
The church turns in on itself, and withers away.

Lesson III. CHINA: A Leftist Regime Ends Christian Missions but Fails to Destroy the Church.

When liberation is not liberation.

Lesson IV. KOREA: A Rightist Regime is Baffled by an Explosion: Church Growth.

What makes a Church grow?
Spirit and Scripture
Lay Evangelism
Social and Historical Situation
Relevance to National goals
Missionary methods (the Nevius method an example)
What makes a growing church turn divisive.
Not all growth is Christian growth.

Some good reading:

- W.G. Young, Patriarch, Shah and Caliph.
A.S. Tritton, The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects.
G.T. Brown, Christianity in the People's Democratic Republic.
Roy Shearer, Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea.
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Some lessons from History, for Missions (II.)

24 years ago the World's Student Christian Federation published a double issue of its 1960 Quarterly Review (The Student World). It called this special issue "History's lessons for Tomorrow's Missions" (sub-title: Milestones in the History of Missions Thinking) which pretty well describe what I am going to try to do in this short hour. But I can't pretend to compete with the impressive list of contributors to that issue of The Student World, - names like Kenneth Scott Latourette, Max Warren, Hendrik Kraemer, Paul Devanandan and Stephen Neill.

I wonder how well we in 1984 - which is the "tomorrow" at which they were aiming their "lessons from the past" - I wonder how well we have learned any of their lessons, or heeded their good advice.

For example, one of the articles was "The Church and the Collapse of Roman Civilization" by a Prof. Mandouze of the U. of Strasbourg. ⁽¹⁾ It bears rereading today. We are ^{now} 20 years nearer to a possible collapse of our own civilization than when he wrote in 1960. We live in ~~the~~ ^a day of pulpit apocalypticism, of what Tom Wolfe calls "Candides in reverse" - you remember Voltaire's Candide? He believed what he was told - that he lived in the best of all possible worlds, ^{and couldn't understand why everything went wrong, -} well, ~~today~~ ^{today} young Candides are tirelessly told that we live in the worst of all possible worlds, and can't quite believe that sometimes

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and Muslims have always held ~~two~~ ~~things~~ ~~against~~ him. He was set on
Persia's enemy, Rome; and he was a friend of the Christians.

things go right, like Comtides in reverse. ^① What point is there in a Christian world mission, when wide-screen television so convincingly hints that this is just the day before "The Day After" - and the "day after" is the beginning of the end of the world.

So let me take as lesson I from his history this point:

I. The fall of Rome was not the end of the world, and the fall of a civilization can be the beginning of a new ^{advance in} Christian mission. ~~It~~ It was true in the world of the 5th century, as Prof. Mandouze pointed out ~~in his article~~, it may still be true today.

When Alaric the Goth sacked Rome in 410 AD, the world of a good many Christians fell to pieces. Not just Rome; ^(the history had fallen) their God had failed! ^{It is} ~~was~~ that the way ^{a part} God ~~rewards~~ rewards a pagan imperial ~~power~~ empire for converting to the Christian faith? No more Rome, no more God; ^{and of course} no more ~~use~~ ^{for missions}. They ~~panicked~~ ^{lost the way they needed. They tied their God to their Christian empire.} But not all of them. St. Augustine ^{or} and Jerome, for example. Augustine told the faint-hearted simply that the fall of Rome was not the end of the world. According to his view of Scripture, he explained, the world could not end yet, for the barbarians, though victorious had not yet been converted. And besides, he said, the city of Rome is not the Kingdom of God.

① Tom Wolfe, "Idea Fashions of the Eighties: After Marx What?", in Imprimis (Phillipsdale, MI) vol. 13, No 1 (Jan. 1984).

Jerome came closer to panic than Augustine though he should have known better because he had renounced the world ^{and the business of empire} to start a monastery. ^{of course}

But ~~the~~ Rome was still very dear to him and its ^{fall} ~~fall~~ burning shook him deeply. Nevertheless as the days passed, and the end of the world had not come, he wrote in a rather surprised and happy way that ^(as) ~~Augustine was right~~ though ~~said~~ the barbarians were not yet converted (as Augustine said), they could be converted - even barbarians, these "crowds of tribes dressed in the skins of animals." ^{"He was talking about my own time. by the way the man got some ideas of N."} And a disciple of Augustine, the historian Orosius, carried the logic of his interpretation of the tragedy a step farther. ^(was able to discern, he said) He saw the hand of God in the fall of a ^{Christian} civilization. It was as "if," he wrote, "the barbarians were sent on to Roman soil for this sole end, that the Christian churches of the East and West should be filled with Huns, Vandals, Burgundians and .. innumerable races of believers... [So] we must praise and exalt the mercy of God since, though it were through our destruction, so many nations saw the truth revealed, and could only discern it this way."

Prof. Mandan's observations lead me to remember that every ⁵⁰⁰ thousand year or so, more or less, Christians ^{begin} seem to think that the world is coming to an end - the fall of Rome, the death-riders of Genghis Khan, ^{the fall of Constantinople, the Russian Revolution} and now nuclear war. Some put on white robes and go out to the hills to be first for the Second Coming; some simply

or pass resolutions condemning war, ^{and hope for the best.} But others, I ^{think} ~~hope~~, will follow the example of the church after the fall of Rome, and ~~simply~~ redouble their efforts to evangelize the world. Now, some day the people in white may be right. There will be an end of the world as we now know it, and a Second Coming. But until then, there is a better response to the shaking of civilizations than apocalyptic despair, or millennial celebration. The better answer is Christian mission.

History reminds us that the fall of Rome, ^{was not the end but} ~~was~~ the beginning of the conversion of northern Europe. It ^{reminds} ~~surprises~~ us that Genghis Khan ^{was not} ~~with the surprising fact that~~ the "anti-Christ" as ~~some~~ ^{some} called him, ^{but through his arranged marriage he arranged for his son, the agent of God in opening China again} ~~and his successors, inexplicably opened China again~~ to the return of ^{Christian} ~~Western~~ missions, and ~~the first coming of the Catholics to the Far East.~~

Today, as disaster on a scale never before known to the human race presses closer to us every minute, the lesson for mission is ^{not that the end of the world is upon us (only God can when that will be) - the lesson for mission is} ~~still~~ what the Spirit says to the churches in the Book of Revelation - and what the Lord says to his disciples in the gospel of Matthew: - ^{surely immediate} ~~Not the end of the world: -~~

but
 Come ... "Grace to you and peace from Him who is and who was, and who is to
 be ... "I am the Alpha and the Omega [the beginning and the end], the Almighty..."

"Behold I have set before you an open door, and ~~no one can shut it.~~" (Rev. 1:4, 5; 3:8)
 "All authority, in heaven and on earth, has been given to ~~his disciples to me.~~ Go ye therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age." (Matt. 18:20).

~~And the first lesson from history after the fall of Rome was~~ ^{but they did not know -}
~~For that is precisely what~~ ^{in their "day after."} Rome fell, ~~but they went~~
~~that~~ Christ's fifth-century disciples did ~~just that.~~ ^{They} ~~did not~~
 out and made disciples - disciples with strange barbarian names
 like Willibrord like Colum, son of Fedilrudh (known to the Latins as
 Columbe, apottle to the Scots), and Willibrord and Willibald, missionaries
 to the Germans, and ~~the~~ Ansgar, apottle to ^{the} Scandinavians. When barbarians
 destroy a civilization, if disciples ^{can} keep making disciples, ^{even when} ~~when~~ barbarians like my ~~is~~
 bring down a civilization, ^{the barbarians} they ~~don't~~ destroy the world. They become its next
 wave of missionaries. That is lesson #1.
 And the descendant of the barbarians - Saxons like me can become Christians.

I suppose if I were wise & I were wise, I'd quit now while I'm ahead --
 II. That kind of a high and upbeat note, ^{on the} ~~is better suited~~, ~~is~~
^{I'm} ~~suppose~~ ~~to end a sermon rather than to be the first point of a lecture~~
^{but we can begin} ~~on history~~ ~~stay~~ with the history of the past, which is all we can really
^{- or you begin with it and stay with it -} call history, ~~and~~ it is impossible always to end with the Hallelujah Chorus.

So for lesson #2 ~~I am~~ you are going to have to take some medicine
 along with the sugar. "In the world," said Jesus to his disciples, "you shall
 have tribulation..." ^{For example,} "And what if, when disaster strikes and a
 civilization falls, the church also falls with it? This did not happen
 with Rome, as we saw in lesson I. But I am thinking now ~~of~~ not
 of 5th c. Rome, but of 7th c. Persia.

We in the west tend to take most of our lessons from western
 history. We either forget or ignore the fact that 250 years after ~~that~~ the sack
 of Rome, ^{by the Goths} in 410 AD, another imperial capital fell and was looted by barbarians.
 We westerners downplay it because it happened in Asia. Some of you may not
 even remember the name of that capital city of an empire richer and larger
 than fading western Rome. It was Seleucia-Ctesiphon. No Romans ever killed
 or captured a Persian Shah; but the Persians killed at least one Roman emperor in
 battle, ^(Julian) ~~and~~ captured ~~that~~ ~~other~~ and chained another, ^(Valerian) ~~and~~ humiliated two more ^{western emperors} (Gordian & Philip).
^{They were the lords of the east, they thought of their empire as the} ^{steppe} ^{horsemen}
 When Seleucia-Ctesiphon fell, it was not to barbarians from the north, but

to nomads ^{on racing camels} from ~~the~~ out of the ~~sandy~~ ~~barren~~ sands of ~~Arabia~~ the Arabian smith.

~~When Rome fell, the chh did not. It crumbled.~~

When ^{Rome} Rome fell, strangely the chh in chh survived. When ~~only~~ ~~Y~~ ~~fell~~ -
And when ~~Seleucia~~ ~~Chosroes~~ fell, the chh fell with it.

When ^{the Persian chh fell} Persia fell ^{with it}, what does that teach us for Lesson II?

If your ^{first} ^{inst} ^{reaction} ~~is~~, it teaches us not to tie the chh ~~too~~ ~~close~~ ~~to~~
imperialism, you are ~~not~~ ~~to~~ ~~give~~ a ~~good~~ 20th c. answer to a 7th

century question, and you are not playing fair with history. In the

fact is that the chh of Rome was far more closely tied to the

Roman empire than the Persian chh ^{ever was} to Persia's empire. Persia was

still persecuting Christians when it fell. Yet ~~for~~ the Roman chh ^{with} ~~for~~ all

its stigma of colonialist connection was the chh that ^{spread} ~~grew~~; ~~the~~ ^{it was} ~~the~~ Persian

chh, ~~oppressed~~ ^{that was} ~~by~~ the victim of imperial oppression, ^{was} ~~was~~ the chh that ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{obliterated by} ~~obliterated~~ ^{by} ~~by~~ ^{ind.-china} ~~ind.-china~~ ^{invasion} ~~invasion~~ ^{from} ~~from~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{west} ~~west~~

disappeared. Such are the dangers of generalizing from single models in

history. In every ^{one} ~~one~~ answer that history gives us, I think it ^{raises} ~~raises~~ at least

~~two~~ ^{two} ~~two~~ questions, if not more. So ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~clear~~

What then is the lesson to be learned from the chh and the
collapse of Persian civilization? If it isn't "Don't tie Christianity to imperialism,"
what is it?

I think I would put it something like this: It is as dangerous for a
 club to be ~~too much~~ against its civilization (culture), as to be ~~too much~~ a
 part of it. In fact it is usually more dangerous to be against it, than to be "with it".
 Both are dangerous, of course. In Rome and the west, from the 4th c. onwards
~~be a part of it. In Rome & Byz, however, are dangerous. In~~
~~5th century Rome the club was so much a part of Rome, from the 4th c. onwards~~
 the temptation, ^{for Christians} was to become too much contextualized in ~~the~~ ^{their} civilization. But
 at least ~~it~~ ^{they} survived with power. In ~~the~~ persecutions Persia, it was the
 fate of the club to bid itself always against the culture - ^{when} ~~at~~ the fall of
^{and to} Seleucia-Ctesiphon, did not change this fatal pattern, the club, in effect, did
 not really survive. It ^{in centuries} lurked, - but it was dying. What happened after
 the 'liberation' of Seleucia-Ctesiphon by the Arabs should remind us that
 our enemies' enemies do not always prove to be our friends.

So the second lesson from history is a lesson from failure.

After the fall of Rome the western church pulled itself together and made its witness by a missionary advance. After the fall of Seleucia-Ctesiphon the Persian church tried to preserve its witness by withdrawal. ^{Its} ~~The~~ model is that of the Christian ghetto. It is a negative model, a pattern not chosen by the church but forced upon it. Not Christianity reaching out to the world but the world dictating its agenda to the church. The Persian patriarch ruled the church - the Patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was the nearest ^{that} Asian Christianity had to a "pope" - he ruled the church, but he was a prisoner in his ghetto.

If I were to pick out one cultural, ~~definitive~~ historical fact as definitive in determining the difference between Western and Asian church history, it would be this

quotation from L. E. Brown (Eclipse of Christianity in Asia, p. 2) -

"In Asia... never once until the 13th c. was the favour of the state conferred upon the Church." [Edessa - the possible exception].

In western church history, we tend to stress the perils of state favor - for that is a dominant part of our experience. We are not as aware as we might be of the opposite danger - the disfavor of a national culture. Asia's peril, - and its almost fatal failure - was that there the church never grew strong enough, ~~to~~ or contemporarily appealing enough, to take root in the Asian culture and win a state's favour. Beyond the Roman border in Asia, the church's culture became a dependent culture, captive and encapsulated in what

was known as the mellet system, a ghetto. It was a state within a state, a minority enclave of protected but subjugated. ^{In practice} In essence, the acceptance of this system was the price paid by an ethnic or religious minority for survival in a state ruled by people of another race or religion. Because Asian Christianity never became even nominally the religion of a majority - save in the Philippines and Lebanon - its basic cultural pattern has always been some form of the ghetto.

until 1923 when the last of them, in Turkey, was abolished in the revolution.

It was not, however, the Muslims who invented the dhimmi (~~the ghetto~~), they only perfected it, if the word "perfected" can be used about a ghetto. In the early days of the church in Persia, under the culturally eclectic Parthian dynasty, there had always been room for a new religion. But the Sassanids, ^{who came to power in 225 AD} (~~225-645 AD~~) were a different breed. Militantly nationalistic they demanded a national religion, and revived the old traditions of the Zoroastrians. Other religions ^{suddenly} became foreign, ^{suspect as} and the great persecution ^{that began in 339} lasted forty years. ^{It was this that} ~~beginning in 339~~ first marked off Christians as an alien community within the empire.

When pressure slackened, the church responded by protectively strengthening its organization. In three quick councils at the beginning of the 5th century it pulled its bishops together to elect a patriarch. The first council ^{declared that the} bishop of the ^{Persian} capital ^{city}, Seleucia-Ctesophon, was ^{The first council} "Catholicos and archbishop of all the Orient", and the third council added that not only was he supreme in the Orient but also the equal of any patriarch, east or west, and subject to none. (J.B. Chabot, Syn. Or., op cit., pp. 255 f., 296 f.).

That was an exaggeration. He was still ^a subject, ^(subject to a non-Christian ruler) the Shah, and the Shah made sure he knew it. Just before the Synod of Isaac adjourned after electing ^{its first recognized} ~~the~~ patriarch, the bishops were summoned to appear before the Grand Vizier and the General of the Armies. The Shah, they were informed, ^{by these two dignitaries} was pleased to appoint Bishop Isaac "Head of All the Christians of the Orient". (Ibid., p. 260 f.). It was his way of reminding them that real authority, in Persian eyes, came from nobishops but from the Shah. Loosely defined though the Persian ^{dhimmi} ~~ghetto~~ remained, its restrictive intent was clear. No Christian, not even the patriarch, had political power except within his ghetto. Outside that narrow circle Christians might have influence, but not authority.

When the Arabs swept over Persia in 642 they did not greatly change the basic pattern ^{of the ghetto.} But to it was now added the ^{Where the Persian ghetto had been primarily political, the Muslim pattern for Christians made it a social prison as well.} taint of political and military defeat. The Christian community became an already discriminated against minority, inside a conquered Zoroastrian majority,

ruled by an alien, Muslim, Arab elite.

^{the result was}
^{the} ~~resembling~~ The effects were harsh and humiliating, ~~but~~ still not quite resembling the popular conception of what happened to the church under the sword of Islam. Christians were not faced with the brutal choice: extermination or apostasy, death or Islam. ~~[They faced many choices, all of them more complex than that, and therefore much more difficult.]~~ In many ways Christians received specially favored treatment. In Persia, it was the Zoroastrians who were most ruthlessly oppressed. Their ~~was~~ the national religion and ^{thems the} culture the Arabs ^{most} feared as representing a possible revival of Persian power.

Christians, on the other hand, were ~~an oppressed minority.~~ It was the belief of the Arab conquerors ~~therefore that~~ they would feel no loyalty to Persia and might even welcome the conquest as a liberation. Had not Mohammed himself singled out Christians for particular consideration? Did not the Quran say, "Thou wilt find that the most hostile of men towards those who have believed [that is, towards Muslims] are the Jews and Polytheists, and the most favorable are those who say, 'We are Nasara' [that is, Nazarenes or Christians] (R. Bell, Origins of Islam in its Christian Environment. Lond: F. Cass, 1968, p. 150).

There is evidence from Christian writers as well that the conquest was not, at least at first, the disaster that had been feared. The Nestorian patriarch Ishoyabh III, head of the Church of the East in the first ten years or so of Mohammedan rule (647-657) wrote, "The Arabs, to whom God gave dominion over the world...are not hostile to Christianity but praise our religion, honour the priests and saints, and help the churches and monasteries." (Quoted by A.S. Tritton, The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects. Lond.: F. Cass, 1970, p. 6 f.)

But a ghetto ^{is} ~~was~~ a ghetto, and this was its shape as dictated by the great Umar, father-in-law of Mohammed and his second successor. Of the many forms in which the 7th century Covenant of Umar is found, the most complete statement is from the 8th century, according to a critical study by A.S. Tritton. (Ibid. pp. 12 ff.)

"In the name of the Caliph, it begins, "I, and all Muslims, promise you and your fellow Christians security as long as you and they keep the conditions we impose upon you. Which are: you shall be under

Muslim laws and no other, and shall not refuse to do anything we demand of you.."

What the Muslims demanded of Christians was isolation and a long list of regulations.

1) First, it meant committing no major crimes, such as adultery with or marrying a Muslim woman, robbing a Muslim, or helping the enemies of the Muslims. For such crimes the penalty was death and the forfeiture of property. ~~Second, it meant that~~ lesser crimes brought lighter punishments. For accidentally killing a Muslim the punishment was the payment of blood money. For selling Muslims forbidden things, like wine, or pigs, or blood, the punishment was forfeiture of the price received. For thievery, the guilty person's hand was cut off. These punishments were no more severe for Christians than for Muslims.

2) ^{Penalty} ~~Third~~, it meant that certain restrictions were imposed on the practice of the Christian religion--serious restrictions, indeed, but not a prohibition of Christianity. "You shall not display the cross in any Muslim town, nor parade your idolatry, nor build a church, nor beat the wooden clappers [used by Nestorians instead of church bells], nor use your idolatrous language about Jesus, the son of Mary, to any Muslim." (Tritton, op. cit., p. 13 f.). In other words, it was forbidden to evangelize Muslims, ~~and~~ this was to prove to be the most fatally constricting clause of them all. But in return for this, the conquerors promised not to destroy or loot any already existing churches or monasteries, and Christian worship in them was not to be hindered or forbidden in any way.

3) To these restrictions on the Christian religion, there was added as a ~~fourth~~ ^{third} element of the Covenant of Umar, the imposition of social humiliations. Christians were ordered to wear distinguishing clothes to mark them apart from Muslims--a special belt around the waist, and later at times, a yellow patch, which recalls painful memories of more recent ghettos, imposed, alas, by those who called themselves Christians. Christians ~~also~~ had to cut their hair a special way, short in front,) and to ride side-saddle, like women, not astride the horse like an Arab. They were forbidden to take the high center of the road; that was to be left free for the passage of Muslims. (Ibid., p. 14

4) The ~~final~~ ^{final}, and in some ways the most effective disability of all

imposed upon the Christian ghetto was financial. The price the Christian had to pay for his right to believe and worship was double taxation. "Every free adult male of sound mind shall pay the poll-tax, one dinar of full weight at New Year... poverty does not cancel any of your obligations..." (Ibid., p. 14). Failure to pay ~~the poll tax~~ meant banishment, no matter how poor the Christian, though cases are sometimes recorded where the poor were excused from tax. It was a system which left the door wide open for unscrupulous use of the tax as a weapon of persecution, and for Christians it was a door ^{well} beguilingly wide open for apostasy. Turn Muslim, and you paid no tax. (Tritton, p. 197 f.)

In the final analysis, the choice of the ghetto was the deliberate choice of the Christian - the choice not to identify with an alien, non-Christian, persecuting society. But what finally produced the withered ghettos of Christians in the middle east was that the choice not to adept was also an agreement not to evangelize. It was not the sword of Islam, but the law of Islam that destroyed the church - a law which permitted conquered Christians to worship, but forbade them to propagate their Christian faith. Faced with a choice between survival and witness, the Church chose survival. It turned in upon itself. It lost its sense of mission. And though it did survive, it was no longer a whole church that survived. It was a sick, ingrown Christian community - a community without mission.

I am not happy about ending on so negative a note--ascetics and sanitized kisses of peace, bishops with Christian cities turning Muslim, and patriarchs ruling conquered Christians under orders from unbelieving Caliphs.

Let me conclude with a word of hope as a Christian always ^{can} should. It is easy to criticize the patriarchs for all their failures and compromises. But let us remember that they were shepherds who did not leave the flock. They preserved a continuity of Christian community in Asia, a church which at least survived for another thousand years.

And it is easy to ridicule the encratites. But let us not forget that this ascetic movement, with all its pressures for withdrawal, was also the major dynamic for missionary outreach and church reform. From the separated, narrow-minded "holy ones" there came in time the beginnings of Syrian monasticism which was to be the strongest revitalizing power in the church of the east against the secularization and corruption of the church. ^{It was a Christian} movement which broke out of the ghetto to plant its tiny cells in an expanding arc across the largest continent in the world.

And the bishops did not disappear with the "blessed cities". They became ambassadors and interpreters for Arabs moving east, and for Khublai Khan and the Mongols moving west; ^{in the ultimate sense, it was} But not for Arabs and Mongols ^{that they were ambassadors -} in the ultimate sense. They were, in Asia, ambassadors and interpreters for Christ in what may be called the earliest ^{examples of} attempts at the "two-way mission" we talk about so much today.

There is a world of difference between the Christian approach to cultures which ^{have} become more and more self-consciously, if not actually, Christian, ^{as in the West,} and cultures which are just as self-consciously non-Christian, as in Asia. Is it too much to suggest that in an age which is more nearly beginning to resemble the latter ^{- the self-consciously non-Christian society, -} than the former, we may perhaps have much to learn from the history of the church in Asia.

-- Samuel Hugh Moffett
Princeton, 1982

Ventura - Jan. 17, 1955

Major ^{Priorities} Issues in World Ministries Today.

The major ^{imperative} issue in world ministries today isn't one of the usual major issues which occupy so much of our discussion about missions at all. It's not peace or justice or evangelism or church growth. It's ^{not} poverty or hunger, or ^{contextualization for} spiritual development or ~~the theology of missions~~. All of these are major issues - ~~and~~ all are of crucial and critical importance. But I'm going to begin this lecture by suggesting that a good case can be made for the proposition that no one of these all-important major issues is the most important issue.

The most important issue you will face in your own globally-oriented world ministry, whether you serve in North America or the ~~John~~ Kalahari desert, will be the issue of missionary priorities - (which of the many priorities demanding the attention of conscientious Christians seeking to be obedient to the call of God) will you make the priority in your life. The most important issue is the issue of priorities - and ~~it~~ ^{this} involves ~~the~~ not only what, but why and when. It's a theological issue. It's a teleological issue. It involves ^{searching} a look at all ~~issues~~ the issues - and asking why bother with a Christian mission, what's the purpose of it all anyway?

My opening word of advice, therefore (though you haven't asked for it) is: if you are called to be a missionary (which is the word I will use for people in "world ministries"), and if you don't have a priority, you'd better get one quick, or someone will give you one - your board or ^{the church that sent you, & the church that receives you} mission, your colleagues, your school or even the government under which you find you have to work. They will probably all - in one way or another - be eager to impose a priority on you - and it may not be the

the priority you want or think important. I'm distinguishing here between an assigned task, like teaching English, and a major missionary priority. We all will have to do a lot of things as missionaries which we don't particularly enjoy and don't think important. But always between the necessary assignments and responsibilities that keep us busy, we must have an inner priority orientation of our own that is voluntary and free and self-directing. This will be absolutely necessary in your life and ministry. It is what keeps you on target, and in balance, so that however many peripheral things keep getting hung around your neck, you can feel you are still afloat and moving forward.

Only if you have set yourself adequate goals, and priorities that ^{are} demonstrably ~~major~~ of major significance, will you know that the direction in which you are moving is really forward?

I. So the first question ^{is} ~~are~~: How do we choose direction?
What ^{is} ~~are~~ our priorities?

In terms of major priorities, there are only about four or five ~~a missionary~~ ways a Christian can look at the world Christian mission. Here is the way one Catholic missiologist analyzes the alternatives. He is José Comblin, a Belgian missiologist, theologian and social critic who has taught ~~at~~ in Brazil, Chile + Belgium. His book, The Meaning of Mission, outlines mission goals and priorities somewhat like this:

Riches - working def of a missionary - "A missionary is a person who knows the law of God who is sent by a church who engages in a specifically 8th vocation who has a mutually recognized relationship in the church & his field & at home."

Date _____

Major Missionary Priorities

- 1. Evangelism
- 2. Heretism
- 3. Assistance
- 4. Church
- 5. Self-fulfillment

I'm supposed to speak about "Major missionary priorities" and if you'll forgive me for a little semantic freedom, the first thing I'd say about that topic is that major missionaries have priorities, and those that never make the major's don't!

I don't suppose that's quite what was meant by my topic "Major missionary priorities" - but it's a good place to begin: the importance of priorities. And my opening word of advice is, if you don't have a priority in your work as a missionary, you'd better get one quick, or someone will give you one - ^{your mission board, or mission} New York, or Atlanta - or your station, or your school - or the Taehin Beach Association - and it may not be the priority ~~that~~ you want or think important. Now ~~don't misunderstand~~, we all have to do a lot of things as missionaries which we don't like and don't think important. But an inner priority orientation of your own is what keeps you on target and in balance, so that however many peripheral things keep getting hung around your neck, you still can feel you're still afloat and moving forward.

But I suppose what "Major Missionary Priorities" really means is the big question of how we know that the direction in which we are ^{how do we} moving is really forward. How do we choose direction, and, measure movement in mission?

Q. How do we choose direction? What's your priority.

In terms of major priorities, there are only about four or five ways a missionary can look at his Christian mission. Here's the way one Catholic missiologist analyzes the alternatives. (Jose Comblin: The Meaning of Mission, 1977)

- [1. We can act as ^{our major missionary priority:} ~~evangelism~~ - evangelization. This will mean.]

MISSIONS & CHURCH

I. We can set as our major missionary priority - evangelization. This (2)
Date will mean: -

- a. The preaching of the gospel message to any human being who has not yet heard the Word of God, or ^{has not} accepted it.
- b. Planting churches to minister to those who accept, and ~~engage~~ to become platforms for further evangelistic advance.
- c. Forming mature + witnessing disciples of Christ through instruction in the churches as tools of the evangelistic advance.
" Matt. 28: 18-19. " Go, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations. Baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." Korea - my father

II. Or we can set as our ^{major} ^{priority} mission: Liberation. This will mean: -

- a. Bringing Christ's message of Salvation to the total human being, body + soul, individual + society.
- b. Taking the side of the ^{the sick} poor and the oppressed, being of service to them ~~and advocating liberating policies~~ to free them from their ^{poverty} ^{their sickness + their oppression}.
- c. Working as an agent of social criticism, and preaching ^{not only evangelistically} prophetically.

Math. 25: 34 ff " Come ... Inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the creation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me food. I was thirsty, and you gave me drink. "
Latin America

III. Or we can set as our ^{major} ^{priority} mission: Mutual Assistance. This will mean: -

- a. Providing mutual assistance among the churches of the world by making resources and personnel available according to the needs, as defined by local churches.
- b. Recruiting and sending technologically skilled personnel to other churches, as requested by those churches.

Acts 16. 9. " Come over to Macedonia and help us. "
Ethiopia

Date _____

IV. As we can set as our mission: the building of the Church. This will mean -

a. Creating the church by identifying with the needs and aspirations of the men + women of today and gathering them into a community of believers.

b. Promoting the unity of the church

c. Motivating leaders in the Christian community to live as Christians in society, so that they can create a Christian culture.

d. Establishing a meaningful dialogue with other religions

Ephesians 1:4-6. "God chose us in Him before the world began, to be holy and blameless... full of love... that all might praise the glorious favor He has bestowed on us in His beloved."

Church of S. India
Comunidade de base (Base)

V. As we can set as our mission: Fulfillment This will mean -

a. Bringing any true and authentic religion to its inherent fulfillment through its corporate conversion to Christ.

b. Showing respect for any authentic experience of God, and inviting further growth of those experiences.

c. Advocating the autonomy and creativity of indigenous Christian churches.

Math. 5:7. "Do not think that I have come to abolish the law and the Prophets. I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them."

African Indigenous Churches

MISSION PRIORITIES

Date _____

Now some of these will sound very familiar and appealing. Others a bit strange, and dubious. But all of them have a point, and rightly understood and followed, I believe, can be Biblically valid priorities in mission: —

I began with a kind of gratuitous advice about picking a priority. Pick one, I said, or some ~~other~~ ^{body else} will pick ^{it} for you. Let me ~~add~~ ^{add} another washed for piece of advice. When you've picked your priority, don't insist that your priority is the only one.

["Evangelism: First among Equals" - p. 11 f.]

There was a time when most Christians thought evangelism ~~was~~ ^{is} the only priority - and evangelism in only the narrowest of senses - saving souls, not even planting churches. They were wrong. But then the church moved too far the other way. The only priority that came through clearly out of the upside meeting of the World Council of Churches in 1968 was liberation - social justice and reconstruction. As in one of the preparatory papers: "The church's service to the world is that of being the pioneer of every reform without making any claims for Christianity or trying to Christianize the revolution." (R. Shaull)

Now social justice is an extremely important Christian priority for mission. But not the only one... Four years later the Nairobi Assembly (1972) valiantly tried to restore the balance, and did much to repair the damage: "Christ mediates the Lord's new covenant through both salvation and service... Christians are called to engage in both evangelism and social action... if declared, but that was not enough. The church needs more than labels - it needs moral power." Now, in most practical, working partnerships there is a leading partner, a "first among equals". I find some good suggestions in every one of the above priorities. But I submit that what makes the Christian mission different from other commendable and sincere missions to improve the human race is that in the Christian mission our vertical relationship to God comes first, while the second, our horizontal relationship to our neighbors in this world is like unto it, and just as indispensable, but still second.

The supreme task of the church is to glorify God and to bring men to him: evangelism.

*There is nothing quite so crippling
to both evangelism and social action
as to confuse them in definition
or to separate them in practice.*

tion and service...Christians are called to engage in both evangelism and social action," it declared (Official Report of the Fifth Assembly, p. 43). But that was not enough. What the church needs for the future in mission is more than balance. It needs momentum. Not an uneasy truce between faith and works, but a partnership.

Now in most practical, working partnerships, there must be a leading partner, a "first among equals," or nothing gets done. Which should be the leading partner in mission? Evangelism or social action?

I submit that what makes the Christian mission different from other commendable and sincere attempts to improve the human condition is this. In the Christian mission our vertical relationship to God comes first. Our horizontal relationship to our neighbor is "like unto it," and is just as indispensable, but it is still second. The leading partner is evangelism.

This is not to exalt the proclamation at the expense of Christian action. They belong together. But it does insist that, while without the accompanying deeds the good news is scarcely credible, without the word the news is not even comprehensible! Have you ever tried to watch the news on TV with the sound turned off? Besides, the real good news is not what we in our benevolence do for others, but what God has done for us all in Christ. Evangelism, as has been said, is one beggar telling another where to find bread.

The supreme task of the Church, then, now and for the future, is evangelism. It was the supreme task for the Church of the New Testament. It was also set forth as the supreme challenge facing the World

Council of Churches at its founding in 1948. "If an ecumenical movement," wrote Bishop Stephen Neill in the preparatory papers, "is not primarily a strategy of worldwide evangelism, then it is nothing but an interesting academic exercise."

Half the world unreached

The determining factor in developing evangelistic strategies, I believe, is that evangelism moves always in the direction of the unreached. "Those without the Gospel" is what the Presbyterian Program Agency's excellent planning paper calls them. "More than one-half of the world's people are still without the simplest knowledge of the good news of God's saving love in Jesus Christ," it points out. There is no greater challenge to evangelism in mission than that.

In this connection it may be useful to note that for general strategic evangelistic planning, some missiologists suggest as a rule of thumb that "a group of people are classified as unreached if less than 20 percent claim or are considered to be Christian." Christians are rightly concerned about the grievous unbalances of wealth and food and freedom in the world. What about the most devastating unbalance of all: the unequal distribution of the light of the knowledge of God in Jesus Christ?

I am not overly addicted to statistics. But what does it say about a "six-continent approach to evangelism," for example, to find that most of our church mission funds still go to ourselves on the sixth continent, which is between 70-percent and 80-percent at least

nominally Christian? Africa, however, is perhaps 40-percent Christian by the same rough and imprecise standards. And Asia, which holds more than one-half of all the people in the world, is only 3-percent to 4-percent even nominally Christian.

In the next ten years, the number of non-Christians which will be added to the population of Asia will be greater than the entire present population of the United States multiplied almost three times (650 million, compared to 220 million). Treating all six continents as equals for strategical purposes is a selfish distortion of the evangelistic realities in the world.

One last thought. There is an unexpected bonus to keeping the definition of evangelism simple. It means that anyone can get into the act. One of the happiest lessons I ever learned about evangelism came not from a professional evangelist, but from a watermelon vendor.

It was in a Korean village, and my wife came up to ask him how much a watermelon cost. He was so surprised at finding a long-nosed foreigner who spoke Korean that at first he was struck dumb. He even forgot to tell her the price. There was something more important he wanted to say. He asked, "Are you a Christian?" And when she replied, "Yes," he smiled all over. "Oh, I'm so glad," he said, "because if you weren't, I was going to tell you how much you are missing."

If more of us were so happy about what we have found in the Lord Jesus Christ that we couldn't wait to tell those who have not found Him how much they are missing, we would need to worry no longer about the future of evangelism. □

Our faith in Christ, the mystery -- there is so much we
don't know:--

"I know not how this saving faith
To me he did impart
Nor how believing in His Word
Wrought peace within my heart

I know not how the Spirit moves
Convincing men of sin
Revealing Jesus thro' the Word
Creating faith in Him.

I know not what of good or ill
May be reserved for me,
Of weary woe, or golden days
Before His face I see.

But I know whom I have believed!

Christ the mystery. But in that glad day
we shall know Him even as we are known.

Biblical + Theol. Bases for Mission in N. KOREA

London Feb 5 1984

N. Korea

Biblical and Theological Bases for Dealing with Christianity in N. Korea - and since this is a centennial (indeed, a bicentennial) year for the Bible in Korea - let me add a little history to the Bible + Theology.

Even then, when I took a second look at the title for this evening's session, I began to wonder why I had accepted. A Biblical base for dealing with Christianity in North Korea? North Korea isn't even in my Bible Concordance.

Don't understand the flippancy of that remark. its a shallow way of dealing with the problem. Neither the Bible nor theology has any amount of study of the current situation in N.K. is going to give us the value of a biblical base - Abraham what you want me to do is - how to deal with N.K. I have trouble too dealing with N.K. in S.K. which I know something about. How do I deal with a N.K. in N.K. I know almost nothing about. As I said - I can't fit N.K. in my concordance - not even in John Calvin's Book of the Religion.

I did think for awhile of Abraham bargaining with God to save Sodom and Gomorrah. But though I have no illusions about North Korea being the home-made heaven on earth the propaganda from the north would have us believe - neither do I think of it as Sodom and Gomorrah, utterly vile. I know very well that there are more than ten righteous men ^{there}, and ^{I really think} probably even more righteous women. ^{all the way} Beside I was born there, and I love it ^{from}

② * P4.

Paiktu-san to Moran-bong. When my father first went north in 1890, Pyongyang was ~~an ancient~~ called the wickedest city in Korea - a veritable Sodom + Gomorrah - its ~~water~~ riverfront gangs were as infamous as its tiger-hunters were famous. ^{By the time I was born there it was called the city of justice in the country was calling it Jerusalem - because a city should be called by the name of the nation in which it was lived upon Sodom or Jerusalem. And my father exaggerated wickedness, my premature common belief, either if it were simply mission to North Korea we were talking}

for something are valid reasons for trying to ending Christian relations with a people or a nation.

about, I think for a Biblical base I'd begin with Jonah.

"Jonah a missionary?"; one of my students wrote. He never saw a path helmet. ~~He paid his own fare - no Mission Board sent him.~~ "He had never heard of William Carey, ~~never~~ knew nothing of Jesus."

He would have been turned down by any self-respecting mainline mission Board, "and never attended the Summer Institute of Linguistics". No one ever received a prayer letter from him. (~~And~~) (besides + most of all) he desperately hoped for the damnation of the people to whom he was sent. This... was a missionary?"

But ~~there are some important~~ ^{is at least one important} Theological lessons to be learned from Jonah that might apply to North Korea, ^{whether} in terms of a general missionary imperative — but ~~not specifically~~ ^{or} in terms of dealing with Christianity in N. Korea. ~~These are two very different forms of mission though~~ the central missionary lesson of Jonah ^{is relevant to any} ~~would apply to the~~ form of ^{Christian} mission, — for that central lesson is obedience.

Verse 1, in chapter 1: "Now the word of the Lord came to Jonah the son of Amittai, saying 'Arise, go to Nineveh..'"

You may want me to complete that verse, you may be hoping that I will use Jonah as a Biblical base for a mission of judgment and condemnation of communist North Korea —

You ^{may} remember that Jonah's mission to Nineveh was not all sweetness and light and sentimental Christian love — the verse continues

"Arise, go to Nineveh and cry against it; for their wickedness has come up before me."

Jonah's mission, then, was a mission of judgment and denunciation and of destruction to come. ^{that is the OT. And Jesus said. Moses ... but I..} But Christian mission is

not mission against; it can never be defined or practiced in the flat, negative, polemical terms of a one-sided anti-communist crusade.

It is always mission for, not against - even, ^{though} injustice and wrong must be confronted, the Christian mission must, in ~~the words of Christ,~~ confront with love - "speaking the truth in love", as ^{Jesus himself} ~~he~~ put it.

~~So that particular element in Jonah's Old Testament mission is one-sided, but not priced in the New Testament's theology of mission.~~

We have no Biblical mandate for a Christian mission against ~~the~~ North Korean government or its people

But there is more to the Jonah lesson than destruction of wickedness. The central lesson is obedience. The word of the Lord came - Arise and go.. And eventually, reluctantly, dragging his feet, Jonah finally went. Not because he wanted to - but only because the Lord made him ^{go} by his compelling, insistent word.

As in the days of Nineveh, so today I know of no other ultimately satisfying Biblical basis for a ^{Christian approach} mission ^{to} North Korea. If it is the Lord who sends you - Go. But that's a principle, not a blue-print!

I can think of a number of other reasons often given - good reasons, ^{for mission to North Korea - and they are all} but not ultimately compelling the ultimate reason, Biblically or Theologically.

① The evangelistic imperative. There was a time when a group like this, meeting on the subject of Christian responsibility towards N. Korea, or any other part of the globe, for that matter, would have felt no need for another lecture on the Biblical & Theological basis for ~~the presence or lack of Christianity in North Korea~~. ^{Christian mission.} ~~Back in those days they already knew their Bible and their theology and the~~ ^{fundamental reason for} ~~urgent responsibility of a Christian response~~ ^{was} ~~was~~, very clear. It was as simple and dangerous and overwhelmingly urgent, ~~It was~~ as simple as the command of Christ, and as urgent as life and death → (p. 3) Millions upon millions ... →

Tracts - p. 3

If you are expecting me to ridicule that challenge, I am going to disappoint you. ^{It was the challenge that brought the first Christian mission to Korea. 20 years ago} It has never seemed ridiculous to me. In fact, in large part ^(over) it was the challenge that sent my father on his first mission into North Korea ^{in 1890. And it was the same evangelistic challenge that 60 years} in August 1890, 94 years ago now, ^{It took him 62 days by horseback to make the} 130 mile trip to Pyongyang from Seoul. With Homer Hulbert + Henry Appenzeller, he entered the city thru the old East Gate and saw the chains of the ill-fated Genl. Sherman hanging under the wooden beams, a reminder of the martyrdom ~~there~~ of Korea's first Protestant martyr, Robert Thomas. Thomas had been killed there only 24 yrs. earlier. ~~The North was still forbidden territory forbidden to residence by foreigners.~~

(A) ^{and the challenge} which ~~was~~ ~~60 years earlier~~ in 1831 had moved Pope Gregory XVI to appoint the first Vicar Apostolic to Korea - Monsignor Barthélemy Bruguière. The Pope's letter to him ~~was~~ read..

"Venerable brother, greetings and apostolic benedictions: The pastoral office which has been committed to Us [from above] especially demands that Christians be directed in the way of the commands of God, and that they be helped to achieve the eternal salvation of their souls by every means [which with God's help, We can provide.] And therefore since you Venerable Brother, Coadjutor of the Bishop of Sozopolis, Vicar Apostolic of Sicily, have been petitioned that you be permitted to enter Korea, and assume the care of the Korean neophytes... We gladly grant your request.. " Sept. 9, 1831.

(Fr. Chang-Mun Kim + John Joe Sun Chng, Catholic Korea, Seoul. Ch. Korea Publ. Co, 1964, p 129)

He never reached Korea - dying in Manchuria on the way, but his colleague Father Maubant, traveling by a separate route so that at least one might press through - carried on to become the first European ~~priest~~ missionary to take up residence in Korea, - January, 1836. He came for the eternal salvation of souls. No lesser motive could have brought him to almost certain martyrdom. He died without fear and without regret in the persecution of 1839.

(over)

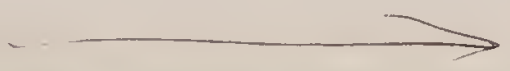
What took the three ^{foreigners, then} ~~men~~ up into the forbidding north, where
 foreigners ^{could not stay,} ~~were forbidden to reside~~ and were only reluctantly allowed to travel through.
 Hulbert went for coal - Appenzeller to visit him - ~~at their own risk~~ ^{at his father's} (Homer) Hulbert went for coal - it was cheaper in P.Y. & he
 had been commissioned by the Seoul foreign community to buy a supply and cart
 it back. Appenzeller went to visit Christians. There ~~was~~ ^{were two} small groups of
 Methodists - ~~not in~~ ^{not in} P.Y., but in Anju & Suji, & one small town south
 of Pyongyang. Appenzeller visited them, & encouraged a ^{Korean evangelist who was ministering} ~~Methodist evangelist minister~~
 to them. Miffett ^{had hoped to find Christians - he didn't, ~~at~~ P.Y. though Underwood} ~~stayed alone in an inn in Pyongyang - trying in vain to~~
^{had baptized 3 men in an earlier trip. Failing to find them, he stayed ^{alone in P.Y.} to evangelize.} ~~find three men reportedly baptized by Underwood earlier - when he could~~
~~not find them.~~ ^{he could only stay 15 days.} Not all at once; ~~It was still illegal to reside for foreigners to reside~~
~~outside the treaty ports - but on that first trip he made his plans for the~~
 evangelization of N. Korea - and wrote to New York asking for two new missionaries
 for the north. ^{for the next three years,} ~~Every~~ ^{for even longer periods.} ~~At~~ every opportunity he returned. Once he was badly stoned
 inside the east gate. Part ^{in 1893} ~~in 1893~~ after ~~three~~ years of constant efforts - including one
 1400 mile trip with James Gale - 700 miles on foot, 400 miles by wooden-wheeled cart,
 and 300 miles on ponies - he was able to open a permanent mission station and
 take up permanent residence in Pyongyang.

What kept bringing him back, time after time to the north? It was
 urgent challenge of ^{in the theory} ~~the same~~ the philosophy of salvation
 very simple, - as simple as ~~the evangelistic challenge~~ I mentioned. Miffett wrote to

①
 *
 Miffett +
 Gale

New York in letter after letter that his only aim was "to lead men to Jesus Christ" -
 "to prepare for a harvest" (6 Sept. 1892; Chd at Home - Abroad, Jan. 1893, p. 34). - to present the
 in faith not as "something for ~~them~~ ^[his hearers] to sit down and enjoy", but ~~to see~~ as a "responsibility
 before God to work for the soul of others" (D.L. Gifford, "Report of Winter Pres. Class, 1892" at Pres. Hist. Soc.)
~~Simple-minded evangelism like that~~ ^{He} ~~Moffatt~~ welcomed ~~and~~ medical work, and would
 have liked to start a school wherever he could plant a church - but always his
 motive was evangelistic. That kind of evangelism is ^{a little} considered old-fashioned
 today, and of course is impossible in Communist North Korea, but it has
 never seemed ridiculous to me, and if it seems out-of-date in today's churches
 perhaps that is one of the reasons for the current decline ^{in today's churches,} of ~~mainline Christianity~~
~~in the west~~ ^{In actual fact} It is not as out-of-date as some believe. ^{The evangelistic imperative today} ~~It still~~ is sending
 out more Christians in mission ~~to across~~ cultures around the world than any
 other theology of missions. The number of missionaries from N. America is not declining -
 it increases every year - but not in the mainline Protestant churches. It has been
 estimated that as much as 90% of the full-time North American Prot. missionary force operates
 outside the ecumenical mainline church orbit. ^{The theology of salvation, I am happy to note} ~~Don't discard the evangelistic motive~~
~~for considering~~ in Christian concern for North Korea. is still with us.

But you know as well as I that there came a day of the shaking
 of the foundations....



I do not intend to ridicule this view either. It did not seem ridiculous to those early pioneers one hundred years ago. Dr. Horace Allen, whose arrival in Korea 100 years ago, ~~we will~~ Korean Protestants will celebrate in September, came as a doctor, not as an evangelist. ~~In order~~ to Voluntary suspension of overt evangelism was the price he was willing to pay for being in Korea at all. He became physician to the American Legation only after he had demonstrated his usefulness in a concrete way to ~~the nation~~ by his medical skill in ~~was his presence as a~~ saving the life of a Korean prince, was his presence as a Christian officially recognized, and his Royal Hospital was the first legally permitted Christian institution to open its doors in the Hermit Kingdom.

How ~~we~~ easily ^{we} one-track evangelists forget ^{that this too has} a Biblical parallel. It was not the Sermon on the Mount, or even John 3:16, that first commended the mission and ministry of Jesus to the multitudes. It was his healing of the sick. Here is Mark's description of his early ministry + the reaction: -

"What is this?", they cried. "He commands even the unclean spirits, and they obey him." And at once his fame spread everywhere. That evening, at sundown, they brought to him all who were sick or possessed with demons. And the whole city was gathered together about the door. (Mark 1: 27-33)

So also in the early days in Korea there was more than preaching to the mission. The pioneers were not the fanatically hot-headed, narrow-minded intolerant little evangelists as they have sometimes and unkindly been described. Their gospel was a spiritual gospel, true, and their preaching was straight from the Bible, but their mission was as broad and as wide as the needs of the people, and its transforming effect was explosive.

Dr. Allen, the first Protestant did more than open Korea's first modern hospital. He made possible ^{directly or indirectly} "the first railroad [in Korea], her first waterworks, her first city lighting and street cars, and her first modern mine" (Hampton). Some of the earliest criticism of the first Prot missionaries in fact centered around their interest in other than spiritual things. When Underwood imported kerosene and ^{modern} agricultural implements, and Moffett organized a timber concession on the Yalu River, and Swallen and Adams brought in Korea's first sweet apple trees, western commercial traders protested. Such activities were beyond the promise of missionaries, the trader cried, and it galled them all the more that the missionaries were doing it not for personal gain, but to teach modern technologies and to prepare Koreans to compete on more equal terms as western commercialism poured in on them.

This was the economic revolution, and from the beginning Christian missions and the Korean churches played their part in it, as in the better more familiar Christian involvement in the medical revolution, the intellectual revolution through Christian schools, and the revolution in the role of women in a patriarchal Confucian society.

Some think so - If evangelism is forbidden, in UK - is this then an pattern?
 but for the ~~many~~ ^{missions} ~~that~~ ^{was} a hundred years ago.

There are ~~some~~ ^{those} who ~~think such~~ ^{do only a} socially ~~revolutionary~~ ^{revolutionary} ~~the~~ ^{will be} ~~missions are~~ ^{the} ~~logical, logical, already~~ ^{logical, logical, already} ~~contextualized awareness of~~ ^{contextualized awareness of} approach to ~~revolutionary communities~~ ^{revolutionary communities} like North Korea.

~~If an evangelistic crusade, as popularly promoted in some circles is impossible, given the current government attitudes, but why not social revolution speaking to social revolution - that is one pattern~~

~~of proposal. The other is like it in method, but diametrically opposite in attitude -~~ ^{This} it is the anti-Communist assumption that if Communism cannot be defeated by evangelism, it can be by social action. To quote one author -

"Communism is an enemy that must be defeated on the battlefield which it has chosen - social action. Communism will be defeated not by name-calling but by actual demonstration that... the Church of today has genuine 'compassion on the multitude' [in the words of the gospel] Mark 8:2... In a word, not by attacking the sincerity and intentions of the Communists or by closing one's eyes to the misery and social injustice which godless Communism be crushed but by outdoing the Communists, by demonstrating to the world that Christian social teaching is a better answer to the problem than the theories of Lenin + Marx."

- R. J. Lutzebeck, *The Church & Culture*, 1970, p. 11 f.

~~But that is a negative mission, and
but in the New Testament, there is nothing negative.~~

But that is negative mission, and in the New Testament there is nothing negative about the social dimensions of the Christian mission. Jesus did not heal the sick or open the eyes of the blind, ^{with the political motive of} ~~to~~ defeating an oppressive Roman Empire. He had already faced that temptation in the wilderness at the beginning of his ministry, and rejected it as of the devil.

A Christian ~~is~~ approach to North Korea cannot be conceived in negative terms. It will be doomed from the start - unacceptable to North Korea, and untrue to the gospel.

Then what about ^{another} ~~the other~~ possibility? If evangelism is forbidden, why not positive social action as an expression of Christian compassion and concern, and as a contextualization of mission ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ a socialized society? Why not social revolution speaking in familiar terms to a social revolution?

Here I am afraid we are face to face with another problem. ~~In a common~~ It was a lesson I think I learned in China. A communist dominated regime is more afraid of independent social action - of any ^{organized} ~~independent~~ initiative in fact which will ~~inspire the~~ ~~lot of~~ suggest that society

~~can be socially & economically improved by any form of political order other than by ^{any} anything outside the party -~~

can be improved outside the party - ~~then~~ it is more afraid of that than of evangelism. The communist state is not interested in Christian-Marxist dialogue - especially on social & ethical issues. This is ^{sensitively} especially so of

the more important popular social action programs of the Christian west ~~which~~ ^{around} which now revolve ^{around} issues of human rights in the west, ~~and~~ but it is also true of the ^{Christian} social missions represented by liberation theology in Latin America, or ^{Christian} Ministry theology in South Korea. This is ~~understandable~~ in the field

of human rights ~~and~~ ^{this is} quite obvious in Russia, ^{as also} and in Maoist China - where human rights are very differently defined. "Not all people are people," said Klaw bluntly - stirring memory of Orwell's ^{But some ~~are~~ ^{have been} surprised to find so cool a response to liberation}

"All pigs are equal, but some pigs are more equal than others."

Theology even ~~from~~ ⁱⁿ post-Maoist China. There, the theology that spreads not ~~just~~ ^{only} in the house groups, but also in the Three-Self Movement is far closer ^{it is to} to the old evangelism than ^{the} the new theology of liberation.

Did you notice the comment of Bishop Tuip, ~~president~~ leader of the China's Three-Self Movement & president of the China Christian Council? It was written from China last year: —

But we have already noted that a ~~triumphant~~ theology of triumphalist evangelism is impossible in N. Korea, and now if a theology of triumphalist liberation is equally impossible, what is there left? Is there any ~~theological~~ meeting ground for Christians inside North Korea, and for us who are on the outside?

We meet in love. That is the first and most obvious answer. Sometimes too sentimental an answer. ~~But at least thoroughly Christian~~ If you are thinking of relationships with Christianity in North Korea as a kiss of peace, a shaking of hands across a wall of separation, ~~how~~ that is perhaps enough - a small demonstration of our love. But it leaves us both in our mutual Christian ghettos. And the history of Christian ghettos in the world of Islam is a discouraging omen for the future of Christian communities content with resolutions and small pathetic gestures of Christian love. The church does not live by symbols of love - but by its mission of love. And ^{love of Christian} the ~~Christian's love~~ is not the foundation of Christian mission.

Of course love is fundamental...

Francis p. 4

But two historical observations — and I am through.

- ① There are Christians in North Korea. They have been seen and heard — and you will have more reports on that in this conference. There always have been — though the organized church was wiped out. Perhaps even an organization is re-emerging, according to some reports. I am not sure. But there have always been Christians there — Swiss member of the team.

- ② My other observation from history — is that the missionary approach is most effective when it is more than loving and obedient. It works best when it is incarnational — when not only its culture but its flesh is contextualized. ~~More than any~~ Perhaps this explains ~~why~~ the almost incredible story of church growth in Korea — not the foreign missionaries (though there were saints and heroes among them); and not the mission methods (though statistical comparisons suggest they were enormously important — but the simple historical fact that from the beginning, it was a Korean in the flesh who brought the faith to Korea. This was true not only for Catholics — with Lee Sang-Hyun (Peter Lee)^{in 1784} — but also for Protestants, with Suh Sang-Yoon, a hundred years later.

The Koreans, as old Arch Campbell, used to say, were always one step ahead of the missionary. When the faith first came to Korea, it was already incarnated — "made flesh" in Korean flesh. Which is ^{surely} the best to deal with it in N. Korea.

The theology which will best fit the resurrection of the
Christian faith in North Korea will not be politicized. Neither
was the theology of the apostles. ^{Its theology of the Kingdom will not be a theology of any kingdom of this world - an earthly utopia.} It will not be secularized.

A secularized church dies when its institutions are destroyed. But
as C.N. Chung, in Richard Kim's novel "The Martyred" notes in surprise -
With these Christians, it makes no difference if their churches are destroyed. Why?

And Lee, shakes his head, - answers, "There is one thing peculiar to
Christianity, Colonel. Someone died for their sins, for their salvation,
and thus someone happens to be the son of their god". "My kingdom is not of this
world," said Jesus.

~~But where does that kind of a theology of survival~~

~~leave~~ But at what point can there be any meeting of
mind between ~~a~~ ~~that~~ ~~an~~ own triumphalist theologies of ~~any~~
active evangelism ~~and~~ or ~~a~~ liberating ^{protest} ~~action~~, and the faith that
survives because it is rooted in that which is deeper and more lasting
than human praxis. We meet, I think, only in obedience to the
divine praxis, which is the Bible's Theology of grace. Thus, I think,
may be what Bishop Tuig suggests.

Theology of the Kingdom
Theology of the Kingdom

World Evangelism: Biblical Mandate and Present Priorities
Mr. Moffett (Princeton Seminary)

This seminar will focus on a search for the Biblical foundations of the Christian world mission, and for a credible interpretation of what "mission" means today for the church. It will include a brief historical survey of periods of advance and decline in global outreach, and an attempt to pinpoint some current priorities in mission.

COURSE SCHEDULE: The course starts on Monday at 2:30 p.m. with registration and orientation at 1:30. Thereafter the seminar meets both morning and afternoon (9:30-11:45 and 1:30-3:45). Early start on Friday (9-11:15). There is the possibility of an optional evening session. Each session consists of a 50 minute presentation, coffee break, and one-hour group discussion, questions and sharing. Worship for the entire OMSC community is scheduled for Tuesday and Thursday at 9 a.m. just prior to class.

RESOURCE PERSON: Dr. Samuel H. Moffett was born in Korea, studied at Wheaton, Princeton Seminary and Yale. He was a missionary in China during the last two years of the nationalist government and the first two years of the revolution. He then spent 26 years in Korea, mostly in Theological education. Since 1981 he has been the Henry W. Luce Professor of Ecumenics and Mission at Princeton Theological Seminary.

RECOMMENDED READING - Johannes Blauw, The Missionary Nature of the Church (McGraw-Hill, 1962), written for the World Council of Churches, and John R.W. Stott, Christian Mission in the Modern World (InterVarsity, 1975).

Course Outline

- I. The Significance of World Evangelism. Did missions die with the 19th century? *EC 11 let I pp 1-5*
- II. The Meaning of "Mission". Is everything the church does "mission"? *EC 11 pp 18-27*
- III. The Biblical Mandate. What about the Old Testament? Is "Great Commission" missions enough? *- ECR pp 28-40 - Jesus (Paul)*
- IV. The Rhythms of Mission. Periods of advance and decline. The "great century". *EC 11 pp 41-44 (Paul); Latimer's 6 periods; "19th c Mission"; "20th c Mission" pp. 1-15.*
- V. Missions Today. The good news and the bad. *"New Partners" EC 43*
- VI. Priorities: Partnership ② The rise of the "third world" churches. *pp. 2, 9.*
- VII. Priorities: Service. "Sent to serve", but how? The world's felt needs.
- VIII. Priorities: Evangelism. The Christ of the gospel, encounter with other faiths; and the unfinished task. *Religions of old Korea - slides; former in part.*

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- David J. Bosch, Witness to the World (John Knox, 1980)
- * Donald McGavran, The Bridges of God (Friendship Press, 1955)
- Lesslie Newbigin, The Open Secret (Eerdmans, 1978)
- *or Peter Wagner, Church Growth and the Whole Gospel: A Biblical Mandate (Harper, 1981)

WORLD EVANGELISM: BIBLICAL MANDATE AND PRESENT PRIORITIES

Dr. Samuel Moffett, Princeton Theological Seminary
November 10-14, 1986

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A Critical Evaluation of Recent Missiological Thoughts From the Viewpoint of Asian Ch. Hist

Recent missiological thinking divides roughly into two main categories: theological and practical. ~~the latter~~ I am going to limit myself to the latter, that is, to the discussions and debates that have been taking place on mission strategies and structures and methods and relations. But in so doing I must make two large concessions to those who will reproach me for avoiding the theological. To them, let me quickly say, first, that theological issues are indeed the more important, and second, that ultimately the theological and the practical cannot be separated.

For example, a Catholic official leader in Europe was debating with himself how far Catholics could participate in the Billy Graham Crusade in Brussels. As he said later, "Such participation would have been good but not very simple. For before we can agree on preaching Christ we must agree on who He is. The difficulty comes not with the preaching & the praying together [i.e. methods + strategy], but with the teaching [i.e. the Theology]. (Review of Wm. Thomas, Mass Meetings as a Method of Evangelism, in Int. Rev. of Missions, Geneva, vol. 68, no. 271, July 1979, p. 323 f.)

And how can you separate the all important debate on ^{the ongoing spread of} universalism in the churches, from the question of whether we should have any practical ~~mission~~ evangelistic mission at all.

There can be no real separation of these basic theological questions from the more practical concerns of evangelistic methods, and church planting strategies, and missionary goals and structures.

But I must leave the higher theological struggles of the soul to theologians better qualified than I, and take the lower road of measurable methods, and practical policies, and attainable ends.

Like, what should we do with the missionary? Is it to be "Yankee, go home", or "Come over into Macedonia and help us."

Or like, what does a mission do in Korea - or India - or Africa - when there are now Korean, or Indian or African churches, growing fast and working hard.

Or like the deepest practical question of all, what are our real priorities in mission? What is mission for?

To these three areas of current missiological discussion I propose to limit ourselves in this hour:

- The missionary: ① The proposal of a moratorium on missionaries.
 The mission: ② The thorny issue of mission/church relationships.
 The mission: ③ The question of priorities in mission.

I. The Moratorium on Missionaries

It was in 1971 that ^{a call from the third world for} ~~the issue of~~ a suspension of the sending of missionaries ~~from the older churches of the west~~ first shocked the ^{older} ~~western~~ churches ^{of the west} into an awareness of a new problem in missions. The unpopularity of missionaries was nothing new. The pioneers had been stoned and martyred, but that was by non-Christians, "the heathen". More recently communism had abruptly thrown the missionaries out of China, what shocked the west was that the new call for what came to be known as "a moratorium on missionaries" was not from unbelievers but from third-world Christians. It came from Africa, in 1971 - from the highly respected and highly placed John Eater, a Presbyterian churchman in Kenya, the then general secretary of the Presbyterian Chh in S. Africa, and later Chm. of the general Committee of the All-Africa Conference of Churches. It came just as sharply from Asia that same year, from Pres. Emilio Nacpil of Manila's Union Theol. Sem. "The most missionary service a missionary under the present system can do today in Asia," he said, "is to go home." ("Mission but not Missionaries" paper at the Methodist Consultation, Kuala Lumpur, Feb. 1971)

The World Council of Churches' Joint Committee on Ecumenical Sharing of Personnel in 1972 quickly jumped on the bandwagon and went even more radical. It proposed not only the withdrawing

of present missionary personnel, but advised against sending any more missionaries in the future, — and then went a step further, it said the sending of mission funds should also cease.

At this point, the third world churches felt a shock. The withdrawal of missionaries posed a shock to comfortable western ideas of mission. The cut-off of funds was ~~a threat~~ a shock treatment for the younger churches. Then the debate began in earnest.

In 1973 the Baptist Sevation Today Conf. dramatized and publicized the proposed moratorium. The Third Assembly of the All-Africa Confere of Churches officially demanded an immediate moratorium on missionaries and suspension of foreign funds. Even if this means the "crumbling" of the old missionary societies, it said, it must be done to make ^{the} Africans themselves the instruments of "redeeming God's people" (Peter Wapner, "~~Color the Moratorium Gray~~"). But at the same time, there was at work the beginning of African doubts about the wisdom of a moratorium on missionaries, and a backlash against the linked proposal to cut off funds from abroad. Observers pointed out the inconsistency in the All-Africa Conf's own actions. At the same time it was calling for an end to foreign subsidies, it was adopting a 1975 budget asking for 80% of its half a million dollar budget from foreign sources. (Peter Wapner, "Color the Moratorium Gray", p. 4)

Cf. Korean NCC - 1979 - from west \$300,000; from Korea \$10,000

Today the issue no longer shocks or divides - though it is still very much alive. The western churches are at least aware at last of the problem. Missions are not an unmixed blessing, and funds can smother and corrupt as easily as help and build. But the younger churches, too, have learned from the controversy. Missions are not always a curse; and foreign funds, wisely used, do not need to destroy the integrity of their recipients.

John Gater, at ^{the} Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization, stated that the problem was the important consideration, not any insistence on a moratorium as the only solution. And evangelicals there agreed that "a reduction of foreign missions and money in an evangelized country may sometimes be necessary to facilitate the national church's growth in self-reliance and to release resources for unevangelized areas."

Geo Anderson, Pres. of Amer. Soc. of Missiology. "If we
truly believe that G. X. is Lord & Saviour of all mankind we
must consider the effect of the proposed mission on the evangelization of
the vast multitudes of non-Christians throughout the world, particularly
Mission - 5
Mission (1) in countries where the national churches represent but a tiny fraction of the population."

General Evangelical Reaction: Mission is merely concerned with church to church
relationships ("contingent" relations, as Wagner calls them); too little with
"the centrifugal church-to-host world dimension" - p. 6.

Best WCC reaction, from Emilio Castro - Dir. of CWME, "mission should never be
the expression of a desire to break off relations or to reject the call to mission.
Mission must be for better mission; this is its only justification" ("Structures for
Mission" in Int Rev of Mission, LXII 248 (Oct 1973), p. 397)

But Wagner concludes with four just such "justifications". Four reasons for evangelicals to say "yes" to mission.

① A mission on Western cultural chauvinism: the "American" way is the "Christian" way.
Quotes Billy Graham at Lausanne, "When I go to preach the gospel I go as an ambassador for
the King of God - not America."

② A mission on theological and ethical imperialism.

No missionary must be willing to admit that his own theology has already been contextualized.
" " will also admit that the only people fully qualified to write "ethnology" (i.e.
contextualized theology) are nationals.

③ A mission on paternalistic interchurch aid. Don't impose yourself too long.
Sometimes relocation is better than mission.

④ A mission on non-productive missionaries.

But there never can and never will be an end to mission - all the
day the Lord redeems. As long as the church has a mission a commission
from the Lord himself it will have to have its missionaries.

CHURCH-MISSION RELATIONS

II The second problem area in much recent missiological writing is church/mission relationships and tensions. The continued existence of a mission in an area now claimed as its own by a national church can be even more controversial than the presence of missionaries. As Dr. W. Heytup said at ^{the} Shane meeting of the International Missionary Conference in 1958. "Previously, mission had its problems; today it has itself become the problem."

Mission is like fire; it can burn as well as warm; it lights up the world, but it can just as quickly destroy. Out of the very success of the missions in planting and producing churches, have come a whole series of tensions in their mutual relationships.

The traditional outline of the history of church-mission relations goes like this - in five stages.

1. The Pioneering Stage. The mission plants the church. (Korea: 1884-87)

2. The Paternalistic Stage. The mission governs the church. (Korea 1887-1907)

Saemunan - 1887 - 1 mission, 2 Korean elders, 14 members (Oct. 1887)

1890 - 3 missionaries as ^{pastor} mission: Underwood, Gifford, Moffatt.

Send: Underwood - kinderg. inst, Old Palace & E. gate (5'nt.)

Gifford - ~~mission~~ new + old palace.

Moffatt - South gate & E. gate.

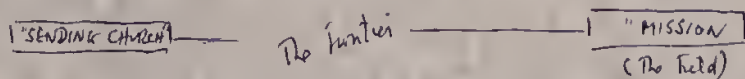
3. The Independent Stage. The church becomes independent of the mission. (Korea, 1907-48)

4. The Integrated Stage. The church absorbs the mission.

5. The Interdependent Stage. Sending and receiving churches recognize their mutual need for partnership in mission.

G. Thompson Brown has sharpened ^{and simplified} that outline with a helpful analysis in the Church-Growth Bulletin (March, 1978: "It's Time to Maximize Church/Mission Relations for a New Advance".)

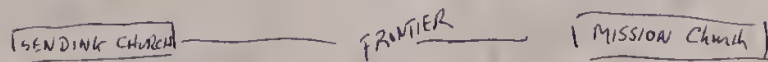
Stage I. The Era of the "Mission" The Sending church sends out a mission



The base is the sending church, far from the field of operation
 The direction is one way
 The frontier (between Christendom + heathendom is geographic)

Stage II. The Era of the "Mission Church"

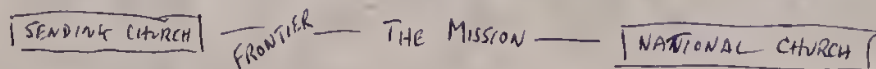
The church is organized, but it is controlled by the missionaries - as first moderators, principals of institutions, control of finances.



Same as I - but mission + church no longer the same thing.

Stage III. The Era of the Church/Mission

The church comes of age - self-supporting, self-governing, self-perpetuating.



The base is no longer overseas in sending church; the national church has its own base.
 The national church is now separate from the mission.

The mission still exists - but is separate from the church. This can cause tensions + misunderstandings.

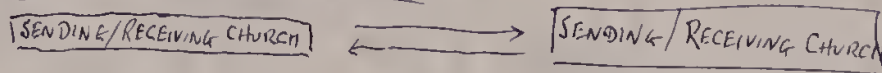
Disagreements over property develop.

Sometimes the national church becomes self-centered, leaves worship to mission.

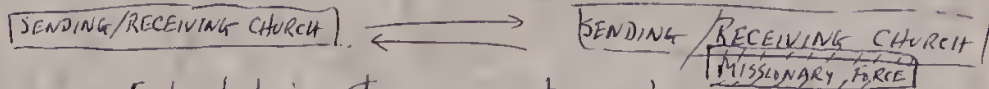
Sometimes the mission become separatist + confrontational vs. church.

As a result: -

Stage IV. The Era of Partnership



Stage IV. The Era of Partnership. the church-based approach.



Each chch is autonomous - east or west

The base is in each national church. "Mission on 6 continents"

Chch to chch relations without mission go-between.

Integration (partial) of mission into national church (logistics in mission assignments, discipline, program in chch)

- Advantages:
- (1) Preserves integrity of both partner churches
 - (2) Closer relations between churches

Disadvantages (1) From standpoint of national chch.

(a) Expected all authority to national chch → instead full authority of mission reverts to NY - not to national chch.

(b) Reduction in missionary funds and personnel. "While your missionaries were directing, you were able to raise the funds; now that the work is ours, funds decrease."

(2) From standpoint of Mission Boards at home:-

(a) Some overseas partners resist change, slow to respond to progressive ideas.

(b) Tiny minorities in overseas lands more preoccupied with survival than outreach.

(c) Loss of initiative for new missionary outreach.

(3) From standpoint of missionary:-

(a) Loss of identity: mission had loyalty, discipline, identification under chch - missionary is left out of decision-making process.

(b) Loss of support + interest at home base when responsibility is turned over to national churches

17. 10-12
See: "Strategy" - letter to Blain concerning VP policies.

Winter of Fuller Seminary suggests need for a new model:-

MISSION PRIORITIES

III. The third problem area in current missiological thinking and writing is the fundamental question of mission priorities. What are missions for? What ~~is~~ is our main purpose; what are the goals of the missionary outreach of the church.

We often see the church's polarization into two opposing camps on this issue: evangelistic evangelicals vs. liberal social activists. But recent writings show that the issue is more complex than that. In terms of major priorities, there are at least

about four or five ways a missionary can look at his Christian mission. Here is the way ^{some} Catholic missiologists analyze the alternatives - I refer to Father Jose Comblin's book, The Meaning of

Mission, 1977. (Latin America) I refer to Frank Tonzi, "Contemporary Concepts of Mission", Missiology Apr. 1976, pp. 135 ff. (Africa, Asian, Arabica) I refer to Avery Dulles, Models of the Church, 1974.

1) We can set as our major missionary priority: evangelization.

- This will mean:
- 1) Preaching the gospel message
 - 2) Planting churches as instruments for further evangelistic advance
 - 3) Instructing believers in the churches as agents of the evangelistic advance.
- Math. 28: 18-19. "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations..."

Missiologists argue within this category as to whether the ^{primary} goal is to reach every human being, or every cultural group (Winters); or every ~~part~~ national political entity (traditional).

Philosophical base: separation, or at least distinction, between the spiritual + material realms.

2) Or we can take the radically different goal of the new wave of theologians + missiologists from Latin America: We can take as our missionary priority: liberation; (Gutiérrez, Heine etc.

This will mean:

- a. Bringing X's message of salvation to the total human being both to individual + society.
- b. Taking side of poor + oppressed.
- c. Working as an agent of social criticism, preaching prophetically.

The debate centers about the meaning of salvation. Salvation, ^{in liberation mission,} refers primarily to this world, and to the whole human being, body + soul. Math 25: 34 f. "Come... Inherit the kingdom... For I was hungry and you gave me food..."

and Br's emphases on particular
For evangelicals, the weakness of liberation as a missionary priority is that its proponents have given it a Marxist rather than a Biblical definition. It secularizes the mission of the church. But it should also remind evangelicals that salvation is more than escape into heaven; and that Christ proclaimed justice and freedom as part of his salvation.

* "When the death of God is proclaimed, man is made free again for his world... Religion, therefore, is to be destroyed." - Rahner, *A Theology of Human Existence*, p 31 (1969).

3. Or we can take as our priority: Mutual Assistance of other Churches

This will mean: (a) providing assistance back and forth among the churches of the world by making resources and personnel available according to the needs, as defined by local churches.

(b) recruiting and sending technologically skilled personnel to other churches, as requested by those churches.

Acts 16: 9. "Come over into Macedonia and help us."

This is essentially the goal of mission as defined by the ecumenical movement through the WCC. "It was the driving force behind the merger of the International Missionary Council and the WCC at New Delhi in 1961." (Ponsi)

(4) Directly opposed to the secularization of mission by the liberation concept, is the popular new view of mission as The Church. Mission is of God (Missio Dei); it is expressed through the community of the Trinity; and the community of the Church. (e.g. Cardinal Suenens; *Keep the Faith*)

The Church is Jesus Christ.. the permanent incarnation of the Son of God
The whole Church is in mission.. and mission is the Church.

The process: incarnation: the church must become human.
assumption: the church gathers up men + incorporates them into a community.

Strategies: Cooperation + dialogue with non-Christians
indigenization + adaptation
reformation
charismatic

Eph. 1. 4-6.

"God chose us in Him before the world began, to be holy + blameless.. that all might praise the glorious favor He has bestowed on us in His beloved."

⑤ Mission as fulfillment:

Raymond Panikkar, Paul Tillich, K. Rahner, Gregory Baum.
(traceable back to Justin Martyr, Abelard, Nicholas of Cusa)

"Christ did not come to found a religion, much less a new religion, but rather to fulfill all justice and to bring to its fullness every religion of the world." (Ponsi, 150)

Mt. 3:15 "It becometh us to fulfil all righteousness."

Mt. 5:7 "Do not think that I have come to abolish the law and the Prophets. I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them."

- This will mean:
- ① Bringing any true & authentic religion to its inherent fulfillment through its corporate conversion to Christ
 - ② Showing respect for any authentic experience of God, and inviting further growth.
 - ③ Advocating the autonomy and creativity of independent Christian churches.

White's criticism of most analyses of church/mission tensions fail to take into account that instead of one over-all historical structure in mission: the church; there have been two. One is the ^{organized} church as the instrument of mission; the other is the voluntary society as the agent of mission. Church based mission is, technically called a modality, by anthropologists, ^{an particular form of expression of} from the word "mode" as a basic, underlying, permanent ~~for foundation~~ organization. ^{This kind of} ~~mission this is~~ ~~the modal missionary~~ expression of a mode, of the church. It is chch-based and chch-organized and chch-controlled. The voluntary society form of mission, on the other hand is technically called a sodality — from the latin word sodalis, which means comrade. A sodality is a free fellowship, joined for a purpose, ⁱⁿ mission. Modalities (chch based) stress the unity of the whole group, and tend to think of everything the chch does as mission. ^{To them, as White says, the chch is the central, basic structure; the mission is secondary, temporary.} Sodalities express the need for wholesome diversity within the mission, and recognizing that the chch is called upon to do many things, ^{and that some} organize themselves as a missionary sodality to do the church's primary mission — that is, to reach the whole world for Jesus Christ. They do not look upon themselves as a temporary structure — for that task is not likely to be finished. ~~A modality, that is a church-organized mission will be church centered~~ simply by the planting of a church.

Ventura N. 9.

- 1985 Jan 14 . SEMINAR - Major Trinities in Mission
- 1984 Oct. 30 . Cm. Ed. seminars "Hope, the Anchor" (devotions)
Challenge from Communists - lesson from ^{failure} success.
Korea: Lessons from Success.
- Feb. 5 Conf. on N. Korea Basis of Mission to N. Korea. (Theological)
- Jan. 3 SEMINAR "Greatest Obstacle" (devotions)
"4 Lessons from History of Missions"
- 1983 Jan. 4 SEMINAR "Lessons from Failure + Success"

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FALURE

Yesterdays lessons for Tomorrow's Mission.

What the most ^{frequently} repeated quotation about history ^{is probably} ~~puts negatively~~ - Santayana's famous ~~remark~~ ^{remark}, "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it." ~~But~~ ^{though} something like it, ~~but put more positively~~ was first said ^{more than} ~~more positively~~ over 3,000 years earlier by King Tutankhamen. ~~it~~ ^{it} and makes a good jumping-off spot for a lecture on "Yesterday's lessons for Tomorrow's Mission," ^{because it puts the idea more positively.} In the "golden blaze" of the inner shrine of his ~~the Pharaoh's~~ sarcophagus, ^{Tutankhamen had} ~~he had inscribed the words~~ ^{ordered these words inscribed,} "I have seen yesterday; I know tomorrow."

Well, it's not quite true. ^{Yesterday never quite lets tomorrow, and} ~~The Bible more realistically~~ reminds us that however much we think we have learned from the past, we ^{see both present and future through} still, ~~see through~~ ^{it is} a glass darkly. ^{but it is never the less, true that} the more we learn from ^{past mistakes and past} ~~the~~ ^{successes and mistakes of the past,} the better prepared we will be for the future, so let us ~~so~~ zero in first on some of ~~the~~ ^{the} features of the past in mission, and ^{then let us} ~~brighten~~ that gloomy ~~future~~ but popular picture of missionary mistakes with a few reminders of some missionary successes, and ~~suggest that we can~~ learn from both.

I will deal with the subject in two parts. For purely personal reasons, I have chosen China & Korea as my object lessons, ~~for~~ I left China, ^{discouraged by what seemed to be failure,} and ^{to them after 20 years in Korea I} left what people were everywhere calling "a miracle of success". Two completely opposite experiences. And since I can't claim credit for the success, don't blame me for the failure, either. But I learned from both experiences.

- So first, ① China, - and the lessons of failure.
 Then, ② Korea - and the lessons of success.

But lest I leave you with the false impression that mission in China was all failure and Korea was all success, I must add a third point by way of conclusion.

③. In the world Christian mission, which is God's mission not ours, what may look like success ^{to us}, is often failure, and what seems to be failure to us can surprise us by turning out to be * success.

I begin with I. So first: China^{and} the lessons of Failure.

~~We have been hearing a great deal lately about~~

A great deal of the news that comes to us about the church in China these days is excitingly encouraging. Representatives of the Three-Self Movement, and visitors who have seen the expansion of the House-Church Movement ~~there~~ speak optimistically about "the challenge of reopening doors in China", and they are right.

But I wonder sometimes, not at all unreasonably, if the Lord may not be a little tired of hearing his people talk about opening doors in China. I can almost hear him saying, "How many times do I have to open the door? Why can't you keep it open?" Perhaps before we talk too smoothly about open doors in China we had better begin with a review of why and how the doors have closed again and again in the "Middle Kingdom", as China once called itself. It makesⁱⁿ a good review of the lessons of missionary failure.